BRAHMANICAL ICONS IN NORTHERN INDIA

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[A STUDY OF IMAGES OF FIVE PRINCIPAL
DEITIES FROM EARLIEST TIMES
TO CIRCA 1200 A. D.]

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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TO

MY PARENTS

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI DEVI

&

SHRI TRIVENI SINGH

FOREWORD

When Gopinath Rao wrote his monumental book on Hindu Iconography it was essential to emphasise a proper understanding of the concepts themselves of the different deities. This great task was accomplished by him with such a rare felicity that his four volumes constitute the source for all later studies. There was another and more important approach in iconography, the understanding of the working of the human mind, the channelling of philosophic thought, the growth and commingling of ideas during the centuries and the spread and diversification of those very ideas, all of these constituting a strange and intensely interesting story of concepts of deities. Coomaraswamy's Yakshas is a rare book in this direction, but it was more a general introduction to a series he began, of which, however, he could write only on two, Śrī Lakshmī and Indra. J.N. Banerjea's Development of Hindu Iconography is an ideal treatment of the subject introducing the reader to the historical sequence and textual definition of complex iconographic thought in India.

In more than half a century so much of material for a detailed study of Hindu Iconography has come to light that several young scholars have been making welcome contributions. They have rightly chosen definite themes, geographical areas and chronological limits in treating, one or more deities in detail. Dr. Sheo Bahadur Singh's Brahmanical Icons in Northern India is an excellent study of rich material that abounds in an archaeologically and aesthetically fecund area. His analysis, documentation, arrangement and narration are all only matched by his intense devotion to this study and the zeal with which he has collected his material. He has chosen those five important deities, the worship of which in an amalgum, styled *pañchāyatana*, was popularised by Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya in the eighth century A.D., but which constituted, as it were, the principal deities, each sought by its own devotees with a rare faith in that concept individually, with the synthesising spirit, as in Harihara or Ardhanārīśvara or Śūryanārāyaṇa, as a softening element. I have great pleasure in congratulating Dr. Sheo Bahadur Singh on the production of this valuable contribution to Hindu Iconography which I am sure all scholars in the field would welcome joyously and peruse with profit.

C. Sivaramamurti

New Delhi, 20th December, 1976

PREFACE

Iconographic studies in a vast country like India cannot be pursued with any measure of exhaustiveness without reference to geographical regions and regional variations. The regional study of the subject, a prerequisite to the determination of local stylistic trends and religious beliefs, remains as yet an unfulfilled obligation. Gopinath Rao blazed the trail with his masterly study of the Hindu Iconography of the south. We have endeavoured in the present work to study and scrutinise the Brahmanical images in northern India mainly from Uttar Pradesh in order to explain their evolution in a proper chronological sequence. The vast wealth of ancient iconographic representations in this area would not, however, permit the inclusion of all the Brahmanical deities depicted in the art of this region within purview of a Doctoral dissertation. It is, therefore, confined to a study of the icons of the five principal deities, viz ; Śiva, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Devī for the purpose of the present work.

A new analysis of the available material in plastic art is modestly attempted in the framework of the origin and history of the deity, scriptural iconography, visualised iconic forms, their chronology and evolutions from the earliest times to circa 1200 A.D. A comprehensive survey has been undertaken of the sprawling area from Bundelkhand to Uttarakhand upto Badrinath in quest of Brahmanical icons. Besides, the collections studied in the prominent museums, include among others the State Museum, Lucknow, Mathura Museum, Allahabad Museum, Sarnath Museum, Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya Museum and the Gurukul University Museum, Hardwar etc. These travels within my limited resources were not an adventure to me but a pilgrimage in search of Hindu icons.

Śiva had his birth in the religious beliefs of the Harappan people and evolved further in the *Vedic* period after his identification with Rudra. The deity has two divergent traits-destructive and benevolent in the *Vedic* age but he is not of much importance in that period. His personality is fully developed in the epics and the *Purāṇas* where he is eulogised as the highest god or *Para Brahma*. Rudra-Śiva is represented in aniconic, theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms on the coins of ancient India. But in the plastic art he has two forms, aniconic and anthropomorphic. The aniconic form is the *Liṅga* with a variety of types, such as plain, *eka, dvi, chatur* and *pañchamukhas*, and *Sahasra-liṅga.* The anthropomorphic forms of the deity have been typologically classified in chronological sequence. The earliest Kushāṇa images portray various forms, including those of Umā Maheśvara and Ardhanārīśvara. In the Gupta sculptures, certain new forms of the deity make their appearance, such as Lakulīśa and Rāvaṇānugraha etc. The ferocious forms of the deity also attract the artist's attention. The hair-style shows pleasing variations with the crescent added to the forehead. The post-Gupta age heralds a new era in the fashioning of Śiva images. A large number of new forms, such as Yoga-Dakshiṇā Mūrti, Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇā Mūrti, Vyākhyāna-Dakshiṇā Mūrti, Naṭarāja, Kalyāṇa Sundara Mūrti, Umā Sahita Mūrti, Gaṅgādhara Śiva, Sadāśiva, Liṅgodbhava Mūrti, Saṁhāra Mūrti (Tripurāntaka and Andhakāsuravadha Mūrti, Baṭuka-Bhairava and Maheśa etc. are sculptured in this region.

The origin of Vishṇu may be traced in the *Vedic* age when he occupies only a subordinate position in the hierarchy of gods. But by the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, he attained a supreme status in the Brahmanical pantheon. The *Vedic* god Vishṇu merged with Nārāyaṇa of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*, and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa of the epics. The *Bhāgavata* movement centred around the deity with the *Pañcharātra* system and its several tenets, such as the *Vīra* concept, *Vyūha* concept, and the *Vibhava* concept. Vishṇu is represented in aniconic as well as anthropomorphic forms in the plastic art. The symbolic representations consist of the *Śālagrāmas*, fan-palm capitals, *mīna*, *makara*, wheel or conch, etc. The anthropomorphic representations are found from the Kushāṇa period onwards. Eight-armed Vishṇu is the peculiar representation of this age. The deity is represented with all the typical ornaments found on the Bodhisattva image. In the Gupta age, the image of Vishṇu marks the highest attainment of plastic art in the depiction of divinity and sublime beauty. The figure is delicately worked out in the round with exuberant plasticity and suppleness, imbued with extraordinary spiritual consciousness. The *vanamālā* is more naturalistic in the iconography of Vishṇu of this age. *Ekāvalī* is another single-beaded necklace worn by the deity with a sapphire in the centre. The tiara is more complex with numerous artistic designs. A number of new forms including the incarnations are also introduced in this period. The art of the later Gupta period is, however, wanting in sublimity, and the sculptor unimaginatively follows the canonical rules for modelling the sculptures. Notwithstanding this handicap, the sculptures still show a measure of naturalness and freshness in their treatment. A new emblem, viz. the *Śrīvatsa* is noticed in this period on the icons of Vishṇu. The tiara is almost conical in shape with profuse ornamentation along with a square gem artistically affixed in the centre. The medieval art is rigid and stagnant, lacking in inspiration and originality. Plasticity loses ground to a growing linear sharpness, and this leads to a gradual decadence of the form. The artist adheres to the strict rules of the canon in all their details. The conventionalised ornate images are the stiff stereotypes of the later period. The icons of Vishṇu are classified as such, Vishṇu's simple form, *Daśāvatāra*, *Chaturviṁśati Mūrti*, minor *Avatāras*, his mount *Garuḍa* and *Āyudhapurushas*. A number of interesting images of the Matsya incarnation with seven seated figures of recluses, the encounter of Paraśurāma and Sahasra-Bāhu, Rāma with four arms, four-armed Balarāma, Balarāma with a *chakra*, Kṛishṇa throwing a *chakra*, Śrīdhara form of Vishṇu, Lakshmī Sahita Nārāyaṇa and Hayagrīva etc. are of special interest.

The god Sūrya occupies a remarkable position in the history of the world religions. The deity is referred to in the *Ṛigveda* as one of the *Ādityas*. He is also mentioned as one of the *Navagrahas* in the *Yājñavalkya Sūtra*. In the epics and the *Purāṇas*, several epithets are lavished on the deity. However, his worship took a new role after contact with the Maga priests from Iran, which influenced his iconography in various ways. The early coins of India represent Sūrya both in symbolic and anthropomorphic forms. The wheel, lotus, rayed-disc and orb are the symbolic representations of the deity. The anthropomorphic figure of the deity shows the indigenous form on a chariot drawn by four horses, and flanked by female figures. In north India a new form of the Sun-image emerges in the Kushāṇa period under Iranian influence. It is characterised by its Indo-scythian dress, *avyaṅga* girdle and high boots with trousers. These two types of the Sūrya-image are found from the Kushāṇa period onwards in this region. The Gupta Sūrya image becomes more elaborate. The Indo-scythian dress still persists; the number of horses is increased to seven; the attendants and other figures, such as, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Aruṇa, Ushā and Pratyushā are also portrayed along with the deity. He holds full blown lotuses in his hands, that are raised upto the hips or the elbows and rarely, up to the shoulders. A number of other figures, viz., Aśvinī-Devatās, the four consorts of the deity—Rājñī, Nikshubhā, Suvarchasā and Chhāyā, and Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā are also carved with the god in the post-Gupta period. In the medieval times, the icons of the Sun-god are of various types, such as *Sthānaka-Mūrti* on a chariot, *Sthānaka Mūrti* without a chariot, *Āsana-Mūrti* with a dagger and a lotus, *Āsana Mūrti* with lotuses in hands and Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, etc.

The history of Vināyaka-Gaṇapati has been traced from the literary and epigraphic sources. The evolution of Gaṇeśa image can be traced back to the Kushāṇa period in the form of Gajānana-Yakshamūrti from Amravati. A relief from Mathura depicts five elephant-headed *gaṇas* who resemble the Amravati figure. However, it has been asserted that this form of the *gaṇas* does not indicate Gaṇeśa whose classical form came to be evolved at a later stage. The earliest independent representation of the deity is found at Saṁkisā with a heavy head and trunk and stumpy legs, and holding a bowl and tusk in his hands. In the early Gupta period, we notice a further development of the type, but its affinity to the *yaksha* form still persists. The Gaṇeśa images of the post-Gupta period may be classified as the two-armed *Āsana-Mūrti* ; the four-armed *Āsana-Mūrti* ; the *Nṛitta-Mūrti*-two, four, eight, ten or sixteen-armed ; Gaṇeśa with Śakti, along with miscellaneous representations of the deity.

The genesis and history of the Divine Mother (Devī) have been detailed from Harappan times to the days of the epics and the *Purāṇas* on the basis of archaeological, literary and epigraphic sources. The terracotta figurines, seal-amulets and ring-stones found at the Harappan sites, are the earliest representations of the Mother-goddess in the country. Moreover, she appears in the plastic art in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. However, a number of icons in the Kushāṇa period represent Devī in one or the other form. Among them, Pārvatī, *siṁha-vāhinī* Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Sapta-Mātṛikās, Gaja-Lakshmī and Sarasvatī etc., deserve special mention. They are two or four-armed, and in rare cases, six-armed. The icons of Gaṅgā and Yamunā are introduced in the Gupta period. Ekānāṅśā figure comes in the Kushāṇa period.

The syncretic icons represent the animating spirit of rapprochement between the different cults. The Ardhanārīśvara images, symbolising the union of the male and female energies as Śiva and Śakti, are fairly distributed from the Kushāṇa period onwards. Another available syncretic form of Hari-Hara produced by combining Śiva and Vishṇu, was the off-shoot of the conciliatory approach. A *Sahasara-liṅga* with composite deities from Chandpur (Jhansi) is another remarkable specimen of the medieval period.

Two composite Śiva-liṅgas, each from Jageshwar (Almora) and Mathura represent the conciliatory attitude of the rival creeds. Sculptures from Jageshwar and in the State Museum, Lucknow, represent Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha standing side by side. The Chandpur image in a niche of the temple shows the combined figures of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha.

In the Indian art, the icons are not merely stone objects for temporal pleasures but have special significance of the esoteric import for the spiritual growth of the human beings. These are the embodiments of the various gods in their particular form with deep philosophical meaning for the welfare of the devotees. The images, their various forms, symbols, musical instruments, weapons, garments and other attributes have mystic implications of spiritual significance for aspiring devotees from *aparāmūrti* worship to the *parāvidyā*, the highest knowledge.

The book owes substantially to the thesis, submitted to the University of Lucknow in 1967 for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy with requisite additions made necessary on account of the onrushing material in the field. The system of transliteration followed in this work is the same as that of the Archaeological Survey of India and may be understood from the following examples Ṛigveda, Vishṇu, Chakra. The Author craves the indulgence of the readers for errors of omission and commission which might have escaped notice due to my limitations.

Sheo Bahadur Singh

Basant Panchami
24th January, 1977

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Sheo Bahadur Singh

Abbreviations

ASI, ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASR	Archaeological Survey Report, by Cunningham
CBIMA	A catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art, by V.S. Agrawala
CAI ;	Coins of Ancient India, by V. Smith
CGCBM	Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasty in the British Museum
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol III by J.F.Fleet
DHI	The Development of Hindu Iconography, by J.N. Banerjea
EHI	Elements of Hindu Iconography, by T.A.G. Gopinath Rao
EI	EpigraphiaI ndica
HIIA	History of Indian and Indonesian Art, by A.K. Coomaraswamy
IA	Indian Antiquary
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JUPHS	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society
KRJ	Kurukshetra University Research Journal
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
MIC	Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, by J. Marshall
PMC	Punjab Museum catalogue of Coins, by R.B. Whitehead
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal
VSMRS	Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and other minor religious systems, by R.G. Bhandarkar.

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CHAPTER I

ŚIVA

Śiva has been one of the most important and popular deities in India, both in the past ages and in present times. His antiquity goes back to the Indus valley period. The earliest figure resembling the deity occurs on a seal from Mohenjo-daro, which shows a three-faced male deity with horns, seated on a stool, with his heels pressed closely together. He is surrounded by a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo and two deer. He has been recognised as the prototype of later Paśupati-Śiva.[1] Besides seals, several *liṅga* like objects and ring-stones discovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are regarded as representations of the phalli and *yoni.* The practice of phallus worship also appears to have been prevalent in the prehistoric cultures of Baluchistan, as is evident from a *yoni* shaped object from Pariano Ghundai[2] and a *liṅga* shaped object from Mughal Ghundai[3]. The phallus worship was in vogue in many cultures of western Asia[4].

The existence of *liṅga* like objects and the representation of a deity resembling Paśupati-Śiva on the seals, lead us to presume that the god Rudra-Śiva of later days, had his moorings in the religious beliefs of Harappan people, and his personality further developed in later times.

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[1] Marshall, *MIC*, Vol. I, pp. 52-6, Pl. XII, 17. Two other seals Nos. 222 and 235 also represent apparently the same deity. Another seal No. 420 also shows the same form of the diety. (Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVII, Figs. 222 and 235 and Pl. XCIV, Fig. 420.) A terracotta sealing with the figure of a male deity standing along with a bull by a trident-headed post, probably represents Śiva. (M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 129-30, Pl. XCIII, 303)

[2] Sir A. Stein, *MASI*, 37 p. 38, Pl. IX.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 45, Pl. X.

[4] The Assyrian god Aserah was represented in the form of *yoni.* (Cliffered Horward, *Sex worship.*) A number of stone objects resembling phallus may provide evidence of *liṅga* worship in Babylon and Nineveh. In Egypt the phallus was so highly venerated that it was taken in a large procession with merry-making. (Herodotus, 2.48.) It may, therefore be hazarded that the phallus worship came from western Asia into the Indus Valley through Baluchistan.

Rudra is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*, where he occupies a subordinate position.[1] His personality possesses two divergent traits, one destructive[2] and the other benevolent. In destructive form, he is associated with storm, rain and lightning, and his main weapons are a bow and arrows, with which he kills the animate beings[3]. He is the thunder of the lightning, and his epithets are *Goghna*, *Kshayad-vīra*,[4] *Kapardin*,[5] *Divovarāha*[6] and *Kalmalīkin*[7] in his dreadful form. In his benevolent form, his epithets are *Mahābhishak* and *Vṛishabha*[8]. He has been identified with Agni and as such, called *Medhāpati*[9] In the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*, it is mentioned that Rudra drank poison with Keśī[10].

Thus, Rudra is a god of only secondary importance in the *Ṛigveda*, and is often identified with Indra and Agni. If he is mainly destructive in the form of lightning and storm, he is also a benign deity who causes rain which help in the growth of crops and medicinal plants.

In the *Yajurveda*, the god Rudra has acquired a higher status, and is prayed to keep away his dreadful arrows[11]. His names are *Kivi*[12] and *Daurvrātya*.[13] He is also prayed to supply good medicines to the animate beings. His Paśupati form is well established[14]. He is also associated with the welfare of the children.[15]

In the *Trayambaka Homa Sūkta* of *Yajurveda*, Rudra is associated with Ambikā as his sister[16]. His mount *mūshaka* (rat) is also referred to. In the *Śatarudrīya Stotra* of the *Yajurveda*, he has been given the epithets of *Śiva*,

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[1] I, 114, 2.

[2] Macdonell thinks that Rudra represents lightning of the storm in the *Ṛigveda*, (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 78.) Similarly, Kieth takes him as the power of destruction in the form of storm, (*Religion and Mythology of Ṛigveda*, p. 147.)

[3] *Ṛigveda*, II, 33, 10; VII, 46, I.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1, 114, 10; II, 33, 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 114, 1 and 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 114, 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 33, 8.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 33, 6, 8.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, 43, 4.

[10] *Ibid.*, X, 136.

[11] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, I, 1, 1.

[12] *Bājasaneyī*, X, 20.

[13] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 9.

[14] *Ibid.*, IX, 39 ; XXXIX, 8.

[15] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, II, 2,10.

[16] I, 8, 6.

Śivatara and *Śaṅkara* for the first time. His other epithets include *Kapardin, Girīśa, Nīlagrīva, Girichara, Kshetrapati* and *Vaṇika*, etc. It appears that several divinities were merging and transferring their respective characteristics to the early Vedic god Rudra who was gradually gaining superiority over other deities.

In the *Atharvaveda*, Rudra is called as *Nīlaśikhaṇḍin*[1]. He is also described as attacking the animate beings with the lightning.[2] His chariot is black and aweful and is drawn by the red horses.[3] His poisoned arrows are represented as spreading diseases.[4] He is propitiated for not attacking with his arrows. His other epithets are *Bhīmaṁ-Rājānaṁ* and *Upahatnu.*[5] His *gaṇas* are also referred to, who probably became ten Rudras in the later period. In his peaceful aspect he is referred to as destroying diseases by his medicines.[6]

Rudra emerges as a deity of dual personality with benign as well as destructive aspects in the *Atharvaveda.* The amalgamation of two divergent qualities is almost complete by this period, and he is referred to by various epithets such as *Śarva, Bhava, Mahādeva* and *Īśāna*, etc.

In the *Brāhmaṇas*, Rudra achieves still higher position. Even the gods are frightened of him[7]. Although he is described as the killer of animals, he is also regarded as Paśupati, the lord of animals[8]. He is also identified with *Manyu*[9]. He has been elevated to the position of *Devādhipati*[10]. At times, he is considered to be superior to *Prajāpati.*

Rudra is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* at a few places along with other gods. In *Śvaitāśvatara Upanishad*, he has achieved the highest rank of *Īśa, Maheśvara, Śiva* and *Īśāna*[11]. He is *Brahma*, the absolute soul and the creator of the universe[12]. In one verse, his destructive form is praised[13]. He is said to be the highest *Yogī*. Indeed, he is *Para-Brahma*-omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. Reference to god Rudra is also found in several other *Upanishads.* In *Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad,* he is associated with *tamoguṇa*[1]. In another verse of the same work, he is said to be the real soul, and has been given the epithets of *Śambhu* and *Śāntidātā*[2]. In *Praśnopanishad,* Rudra is called *Parirakshita*[3].

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[1] II, 27, 6 ; XI, 2, 7.

[2] XI, 2, 19 ; XI, 2, 26.

[3] XI, 2, 18.

[4] VI, 90, 1.

[5] XVIII, 1, 40.

[6] VI, 44, 3 ; VI, 57, 1.

[7] *Śatapatha*, IX, 1, 1, 1-5.

[8] *Ibid.*, V, 3, 3, 7.

[9] *Aitareya*, III, 8, 9.

[10] *Kauśītakī*, 23, 3.

[11] 3, 11 ; 4, 10 ; 4, 11 ; 5, 14.

[12] 3, 2-4 ; 3, 7 ; 10, 24.

[13] 3, 6.

Rudra occupies almost the same status in the *Śrautasūtras* as in the *Brāhmaṇas.* He is an important god and has several epithets, such as *Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Mahādeva, Paśupati* and *Bhūtapati*[4], etc. He is prayed for the safety of men and animals. He bestows medicines and is the destroyer of diseases[5]. At one place, reference is made to the presentation of a rat to Śiva[6].

Rudra is frequently described as Śiva and Śaṅkara in the *Gṛihyasūtras*[7]. He wanders in the forest, holy places and graveyards and is worshipped for removing evils. The importance of the *Gṛihyasūtras* lies in the fact that they refer to the image-worship for the first time. The *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra* elaborates the procedure of installing the image of Vishṇu and Śiva[8]. The word *Devāgāra* used for the first time here, obviously refers to temples[9]. A specific reference to Śiva-liṅga is found in this *sūtra*[10].

In the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Rudra has similar epithets viz., *Bhava* and *Śarva*[11], etc. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* clearly refers to the temples of Śiva and other gods.

In the epics, Rudra-Śiva is shown as a benevolent and meritorious god. He is the saviour of the mankind and bestower of gifts. He is all merciful, and the highest god[12]. It is remarkable that Nandī is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* for the first time[13]. In the *Mahābhārata,* Śiva is the creator, omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient[14]. His epithets are *Īśāna, Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Bhagawān* and

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[1] 4, 5.
[2] 5, 8.
[3] 2, 9.
[4] *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, 4, 19, 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, 3, 4, 8.
[6] *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*, V, 3, 2.
[7] *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, II, 1, 2.
[8] III, 2, 13, 16.
[9] III, 3, 9, 3.
[10] III, 2, 16, 14.
[11] 1, 49 ; 3, 53.
[12] *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa*, 36, 9-10.
[13] *Uttara Kāṇḍa*, 16, 8.
[14] *Droṇa-Parva*, 74, 56.

Śiva[1]. All the gods, including Brahmā and Vishṇu, seek refuge in him[2], and Nandī is his vehicle[3]. Śiva is also the destroyer of the world, and his main attributes are Pināka bow and *śūla-vajra.* His anthropomorphic as well as aniconic forms are frequently mentioned[4]. Pātañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* refers to Śiva by several names and his devotees are described as *Śiva-Bhāgavatas.* It also mentions the images of Śiva and Skanda[5]. Aśvaghosha mentions Rudra by the name of *Vṛishadhvaja* and *Bhava* along with his son Skanda and consort Pārvatī[6].

The personality of Rudra-Śiva is fully developed in the *Purāṇas* where he is eulogised as the highest god, the *Para-Brahma*, the creator, the cause of the world, the great soul, the imperishable, the all powerful[7]. However, it is interesting to note that if he enjoys the highest position in the *Śaiva-Purāṇas*, he is regarded as subordinate to Vishṇu in the *Vaishṇava-Purāṇas.* But it was soon realised that this sectarian rivalry is meaningless, and accordingly, he is often identified with Vishṇu. It has therefore, been emphasised in several of the *Purāṇas* that both the gods are one and the same[8], and as such, both should be worshipped without sectarian prejudices. Nevertheless, sectarian views are also not lacking in the *Purāṇas* where Śiva is a greater god than Vishṇu. The *Saura-Purāṇa* states that Kṛishṇa received the gift of *chakra* from Śiva[9]. In one of the legends of the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, Śiva swallows the *chakra* of Vishṇu, proving himself more powerful. In the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, Vishṇu is shown as worshipping Mahādeva. Contrary to this, *Vaishṇava-Purāṇas* state that Vishṇu is the Supreme God who was worshipped by Śiva[10].

The dreadful form of the deity still persists in the *Purāṇas* where he is regarded as *Chaṇḍa-Bhairava* and *Mahākāla*[11]. He holds a trident and a *ṭaṅka* in his hands, and is the *Kāla* personified.[12] His *gaṇas* come from different categories, such as *Rākshasas, Dānavas, Daityas, Gandharvas* and *Yakshas*[1]. He is the killer of *Andhaka* and *Tripura* along with several other *asuras*.

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[1] *Karṇa-Parva*, 24, 61, 63.
[2] *Anuśāsana*, 22, 144-45.
[3] *Ibid.*, 113, 32.
[4] *Ibid.*, 22, 97,
[5] 3, 99.
[6] *Buddha-Charita*, 1, 66.
[7] *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, 2, 21, 49.
[8] *Varāha-Purāṇa*, 25, 4.
[9] *Saura-Purāṇa*, 41, 145.
[10] *Brahmavaivarta*, 3, 61.
[11] *Matsya*, 252, 10.
[12] *Vāyu*, 31, 32.

In the development of Rudra-Śiva, the non-Aryan and Aryan elements are completely fused by the *Purāṇic* age. He becomes one of the great brahmanical Trinity, and a powerful sect develops round him. His personality is so charming that he combines in him a large variety of characteristics, and thus becomes the most colourful deity of the brahmanical pantheon. If he is ferocious and causes destruction, he is also a loving father and husband who is extremely kind and benevolent. And that is the secret of his immense popularity among the elite as well as the masses. Even today, no god can vie in popularity with him.

The figures of Rudra-Śiva are represented in aniconic, theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms on the coins of ancient India. The symbolic representation of *liṅga* on an uninscribed cast coin, Taxila coins and Ujjayini coins[2] are the first aniconic representations noted so far. These coins are assigned to c. 3rd or 2nd century B.C. The representation of the humped bull on the Punch-marked[3] and Indo-Greek[4] coins may be a theriomorphic representation of Śiva in c. 2nd, 3rd century B.C. The symbolic representation of *paraśutriśūla* on Pañchāla[5] and Audumbara[6] coins is an interesting feature.

Rudra-Śiva does figure anthropomorphically on the earliest coins of Ujjayini, datable to c. 3rd-2nd century B.C. The diety holds a staff in the right hand and a vase in the left. In the same variety of coins, a bull is also seen as looking at the deity. A three-headed figure of the diety from the same location may also represent the god Śiva.[7] The deity is also represented on the Kuninda coins.[8]

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[1] *Vāyu*, 24, 107.

[2] J. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. 85. No. 2, XI, 2 ; p. 233, Nos. 154 and 154 a, Pl. XXXV, 5, and p. 243, No. 19, Pl. XXXVI, 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 18, Pl. I, Figs., 20, 23.

[4] Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 7-12 ; Pl. IX, 4. Mihirakula also issued similar coins with the legend *Jayatu Vṛishaḥ*- P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, p. 162, Pl. XXIX, 15.

[5] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 118, Pl. XXVII, 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 67-68, Pl, IV, 1.

[7] Allan, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, pp. CXLIII, 245-52.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

The early foreign rulers of India, namely, Gondophares,[1] and Maues[2] also issued coins with the figure of Śiva in which the deity is shown with a trident and palm-branch, and a club and sceptre, respectively. However, the most important figures of the deity are found on the Kushāṇa coins; on those of Wema Kadphises,[3] Kanishka,[4] Huvishka'[5] Vāsudeva[6] and Kanishka III[7], showing a single or multifaced Śiva with two or more arms, holding attributes of varying nature, such as trident, *ḍamarū*, water-vessel and noose, etc. Certain coins of Kanishka[8] and Huvishka[9] represent a deer standing before the deity, indicating his *Pāśupati* aspect. One of the coins of the latter king shows Śiva with crescent on the forehead which may surmise his *Chandraśekhara* form.[10]

Special reference may be made to a coin of Huvishka where a deity resembling Śiva in all respects, holds a bow with string inwards. The legend is read as 'Geṇeśa', by Smith[11]. It, may, probably represent the Pinākī form of Śiva. On some other coins of Huvishka the figures of a male and a female stand facing each other with a Kushāṇa label which reads Oeśo (Bhaveśa) and OMMO (Umā)[12] It is evident from the numismatic references that the god Śiva was worshipped much earlier than any other god, and his figures are shown on the coins from the 3rd 2nd century B.C. onwards.

It is rather strange that though various forms of Śiva appear on the coins from very early time, and he is frequently mentioned in early literature yet he is rarely referred to in inscriptions prior to the Gupta age. Subsequently numerous epigraphic references to Śiva provide a store-house of material for the study of different *Śaiva* sects and the development of his iconography. As a matter of fact they corroborate the literary evidence already cited. By the end of the Gupta period the *Śaiva* pantheon was fully developed.

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1. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 75, Pl. II, 4. and Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 151, Pl. XV, 43.
2. Whitehead, *op. cit*, p. 101, Pl. X, 25 and J. N. Banerjea *DHI*, pp. 120-21.
3. Whitehead, *cf.* p. 183, Pl. XVII, Fig. 33 ; Pl. IX, 14.
4. Whitehead, *cf.* Pl. XVII, 65 ; Pl. XVIII, 106-08 and Smith, *Catalogue of Coins of Indian Museum*, Calcutta p. 74. Nos. 64-77.
5. Whitehead, *cf.* Pl. XIX, 150-56.
6. Whitehead, *cf*, Pl. XX, 11, Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 84, 1-34.
7. Whitehead, *cf*, Pl. XIX, 231-35.
8. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Nos. 9-10.
9. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 16-17.
10. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 80, 31.
11. J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26, Pl. X, 8.
12. E.J. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 324 ;Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 197, Pl. XVIII, 135,

An epigraph on the Bhita *Pañcha-mukhaliṅga* (State Museum No. H4) records its dedication by Nāga Śrī, the son of Vasethi. Its probable date is c. 2nd-Ist century B.C. A Śiva-liṅga from Karmadanda (Fyzabad), now exhibited in the State Museum (No. 0.5) refers to its installation by Pṛithvīsheṇa, the minister of Kumāragupta I, in A.D. 436. The Allahabad pillar-edict refers to *Paśupati* in connection with the descent of Gaṅgā[1]. The gift of a cave at Udayagiri by a *Śaiva* devotee also indicates the popularity of the god in the Gupta period.[2] In the Apsaḍa inscription of Ādityasena, Kārttikeya is referred to, as the son of Śiva.[3] The Nāgārjuna cave inscription of Anantavarman refers to the installation of the images of Śiva and Pārvatī[4]. The copper-plate inscription of Pravarshena mentions Bhāraśivas who carry liṅgas on their shoulders[5]. In Sangaloi copper-plate inscription of Harivarmā, Śiva is praised as the Supreme God along with Brahmā and Vishṇu indicating the liberal attitude of the age[6]. A Khajuraho inscription describes Śiva as Ekeśvara, Vishṇu, Jina and the Buddha.[7] The Malhār inscription of Jajalladeo reveals an extremely sectarian view when it states that a *Śaiva* is just like fire for the pride of Chārvāka, Agastya, the Buddha principles, and *Kāla* for Digambara Jains. Thus Śiva has been represented as a powerful sectarian deity. However, his identification with Vishṇu and other gods is also emphasised by at least a section of the society. All these features are amply testified and often times a new light is shed regarding this deity in the inscriptions of the Gupta and the post-Gupta period.

Śiva is represented in the sculpture in two forms-aniconic and anthropomorphic. Aniconically, he is represented in the form of *liṅgas* which show a variety of types. They may be plain, or with one or more faces. They may be made of clay, wood, stone, iron, copper, bronze, silver, gold or gems.[8] It may be pointed out that the earliest *liṅga* known so far is five-faced. It is indeed strange and against the principle of evolution that chronologically a *pañcha-mukha liṅga* should be the earliest one. The Kushāṇa *liṅgas* are either plain, or one, four, or five-faced. Although, the *liṅgas* of the Gupta period are generally of the same variety, the five-faced form has been abandoned. A two-faced *liṅga* in the Mathura Museum is another peculiarity of this age, The Gupta tradition continues in the medieval period with the addition of *Sahasra-liṅga*.

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[1] *CII*, p. 1, Pl. I.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 21, Pl. II b.
[3] *Ibid.*, Pt., III, PI. XXVIII, p. 200.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 223-26, Pl. XXXI.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 235, Pl. XXXIV.
[6] *EI*, Pt. I, p. 166, Pl. XIV.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[8] *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, *Adh*. 74.

In the case of anthropomorphic representation more varieties and forms are added with every age. In this region, the earliest Kushāṇa images represent the deity in various forms, such as, Umā-Maheśvara and Ardhanārīśvara. Nandī has also become a part of his family. The deity is occasionally shown with phallus erect (*ūrdhva-retas*), and is endowed with matted locks, three eyes and, sometimes, with moustaches. Generally, he has only two arms. In the Gupta sculptures, crescent is also added to his forehead, and his ferocious form also gains artist's attention. The hair style shows pleasing variations. The family of Śiva also grows with the addition of Gaṇeśa. Certain new forms, such as, Lakulīśa, Rāvaṇānugraha and Harī-Hara are carved for the first time in this age. The post-Gupta age heralds a new era in the fashioning of Śiva images. A large number of new forms such as Yoga-Dakshiṇā mūrti, Vīṇādhara mūrti, Lingodbhava mūrti, Saṁhāra mūrti, and Bhairava, etc. are sculptured for the first time. The deity is either standing in *samabhaṅga*, *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose, or seated in *lalitāsana*, *utkuṭikāsana*, *svastikāsana* and *padmāsana*. He is shown with two or more arms, holding different attributes, such as, trident, *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, sword, shield, bow, arrows, *paraśu*, dagger, *mūsala*, hillock, *vīṇā*, bell, *ḍamarū*, tiger and elephant's-skin, book, rosary, *mātuluṅga* fruit, *kamaṇḍalu* and- lotus stalk, etc. The other gods associated with the deity include Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Yama, Navagrahas, Nandī, and his *gaṇas*, etc.

LIṄGAS

Liṅgas are the symbolic representation of Śiva, broadly classified in two groups, such as *chara-liṅgas* and the *sthāvara liṅgas*, that is the moveable and the immoveable *liṅgas*.[1] The *chara-liṅgas* are classified into *mriṇamaya* (those made of earth), *lohaja* (of metals), *ratnaj* (of precious stone) and *kshaṇika liṅgas* (those made for the occasion and disposed of atonce, after their use is over). According to the *Suprabhedāgama* the *sthāvara-liṅgas* are classified in nine divisions, namely, the *Svayambhū* (one which existed from time immemorial, and came into existence by itself), the *Pūrva* (or *Purāṇa*), the *Daivata*, the *Gāṇapatya*, the *Asura*, the *Sura*, the *Ārsha*, the *Rākshasa*, the *Mānusha* and the *Bāṇa liṅgas*. The *Makuṭāgama* recognises only four classes of *sthira-liṅgas*, namely, the *Daivika*, the *Ārshaka*, the *Gāṇapa* and the *Mānusha liṅgas*. The *Kāmikāgama* states that the *sthāvara liṅgas* are divided into six classes, the *Svayambhū*, the *Daivika*, the *Ārshaka*, the *Gāṇapatya*, the *Mānusha* and the *Bāṇa liṅgas*. The *Daivika liṅgas* are recognised by their characteristic shapes. They may represent the shape of a flame, or resemble a pair of hands held in the *añjali* pose ; they may have rough exterior with elevations and depressions, deep hollows and scars resembling *taṅka* and *śūla*. The *Gāṇapa-liṅgas* are those that are believed to have been set by *gaṇas*. They are of the shape of the fruits of cucumber, citron, wood-apple or palm. The *Ārsha-liṅgas* are those set up and worshipped by *ṛishis*, and are spheroidal in shape. The *Mānusha liṅgas* are those set up by human hands in accordance with the rules laid in *Āgamas*.[1]

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[1] *Śiva-Purāṇa*, *Vidyeśvara Saṁhitā*, VI, 5.

These man made *liṅgas* are of five varieties such as *Ashṭottaraśata liṅga*, *Sahasra-liṅga*, *Dhāra-liṅga*, *Mukha-liṅga* and *Śaiveshṭya-liṅga*.

The *Ashṭottaraśata liṅga* has 108 miniature *liṅgas* carved on the *pujā-bhāga* of the *sureḍhya liṅga*. They are produced by cutting four equidistant horizontal deep lines on the surface of the *pujā-bhāga*. At right angles to these, and parallel to the axix of the *liṅga* are to be carved twenty seven deep lines. Thus 108 *liṅgas* are formed. The *Sahasra-liṅga* is obtained in exactly the same manner as the *Ashṭottaraśata-liṅga* by its further divisions. The carving of the thousand and one *liṅgas* should be done on the surface of the *pujā-bhāga* of an *Āḍhya liṅga*. In the case of *Dhāra-liṅgas*, the *pujā-bhāga* has vertical fluted facets ranging from five to sixty-four in number. The *Suprabhedāgama* prescribes, 5, 7, 9, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 28 facets for *Dhāra liṅgas*, while the *Karṇāgama* mentions only 16 facets. But the *Mayāmatā* lays down the rule that the number of the facets in *Brahma-bhāga*, the *Vishṇu-bhāga* and the *Rudra-bhāga* should be either 4, 8 and 16; 8, 16 and 32; or 16, 32 and 64, respectively. In *Mukha-liṅga* the human faces should be carved on the *pujā-bhāga* of the *Sarvasama-liṅga*, and their number might be 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 corresponding to the five aspects of Śiva, viz. Vāmadeva, Tatpurusha, Āghora, Sadyojāta and Īśāna.[2]

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that the upper portion of the *liṅga* should be round, middle portion octagonal and that near the *brahmapītha* (i.e. lowermost portion) square. The round portion is to be shown entirely, while the octagonal portion is inserted into the *piṇḍikā* and the square portion is within the

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[1] T.A.G. Rao, *EHI*, II, I, 75-87.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 95-99.

brahmapitha. The top of the *liṅga* should be well rounded and curvated upwards.[1] These portions are called *Rudra-bhāga, Vishṇu-bhāga* and *Brahma-bhāga*, respectively.

*Types of liṅga*s

The *liṅgas* can be classified as plain *liṅga*, *Sahasra-liṅga*, *Mukha-liṅga* (*eka, dvi, chatur* and *pañcha Mukha*) and the composite *liṅga* on the basis of their iconographic features.

Plain liṅgas

The earliest variety of the *liṅga* resembles male genital organ with a cylindrical shaft rounded at the top. A ribbon is tied a few inches below the top, and it appears that the shaft was placed in a square *argha* in certain cases. This form indicates that the phallus worship has been continuing from the ancient period by representing the two great generative principles of the Universe Śiva and Śakti, or *Purusha* and *Prakṛiti*, the father and the mother of all creation and the energy and matter which are symbolised briefly in the form of *liṅga* and *yoni*.

The earliest representation of *liṅga* is found carved on a lintel exhibited at Mathura museum (No. 52. 3625), and belongs to c. Ist century B.C. on the basis of style. The *liṅga* is adorned with a ribbon, and is being worshipped by a number of devotees who have garlands in their hands. It is surrounded by a railing beside which a tree and *makara* figures are also carved. The *liṅga* seems to be fixed in a square base.

Several *liṅgas* of the Kushāṇa period are noticed in this region. A *liṅga* with square base and round shaft bearing a ribbon knot on the top, exhibited in the Mathura Museum (No. 15.652)[2], belongs to c. Ist century A.D. A relief in the same Museum (No. 36, 2661)[3] shows two male figures in the adoration of *liṅga* with garlands. Another free-standing *liṅga* of the same period is deposited in the State Museum (No. H.I.). A *liṅga* from Mathura[4] is very interesting from the iconographic point of view. It represents four-armed figure of Śiva standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with lower right hand held in *abhaya-mudrā;* the upper right one is lost and the lower left hand is in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose, whereas the upper left one is touching the *brahmasūtra* on the *liṅga. The* deity wears *dhotī*, *jaṭā-mauli*, ear-rings and wristlets. It is analogous to the older Guḍimallam *liṅga*[1], and belong to c. 2nd century A.D. The well known *liṅga* in the State Museum (No. 0.5) belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I has octagonal base and cylindrical upperpart. It is the only *liṅga* of the Gupta period which can be precisely dated.

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[1] III, 74, 1-5.

[2] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

[4] *HIIA*, p. 67, Fig, 68.

The *liṅgas* of the medieval period are cylindrical in shape with a square *argha*. There is no ribbon round the upperpart. It is further remarkable that the whole shaft is of the same circumference and, therefore, its shape has little resemblance to the genital organ as noticed in the Kushāṇa period. The *liṅgas* of this period are profusely found in this region, and these are noticed at Garhwa (Allahabad), Chandpur, Dudhai (Jhansi), Jageshwar, Baijnath (Almora), Gopeshwar (Chamoli), Soron, Narauli and Bilarm (Etah), etc.

Sahasra-liṅga

Sahasra-liṅga is carved with 1001 miniature *liṅgas*, perhaps representing the omnipresence of the Supreme Lord pervading the whole universe[2]. A unique variety of this type of *liṅga* is found at Chandpur which is carved with the figures of the composite deities[3]. This form has been described along with other syncretic images. A *Sahasra-liṅga* of the ordinary variety has been found at Jageshwar (Almora), Nadara (Etah) and Talbehat fort in Jhansi (Fig. I). It shows one thousand one miniature *liṅgas* carved on the *pujā-bhāga* of an *Aḍhya liṅga* with a ribbon (*brahma-sūtra*) at the top. The miniature *liṅgas* are shaped by cutting equidistant horizontal lines on the surface of the *pujā-bhāga* along with vertical lines at right angles to these and parallel to the axis of the *liṅga*. These *Sahasra-liṅgas* can be compared with that of found at Tiruvottiyur.[4]

Mukha-liṅga

It appears rather paradoxical that the earlist *liṅgas* in this region is five-faced. It hails from Bhita, and is now in possession of the State Museum (No. H. 4).[5] The chief interest of this *liṅga* lies in the fact that it combines the figure of human phallus with scrotum along with the five faces of Śiva. Obviously, it represents that stage when a primitive phallus worship was finding its way into the *Śaiva* fold. On its top a male bust holding *kamaṇḍalu* in the left and a *śūla* in the right hand is carved. The figure wears a *yajñopavīta*. Below, are carved human faces on the four sides of the pillar. They are characterised by matted locks and ear-rings. R.D. Banerji was inclined to identify them as female faces on the ground of the mode of hair-style and the large ear-rings.[1] But his opinion cannot be entertained since we are fully aware of the five forms of Śiva which are often carved on the faces of the *liṅgas*. According to *Tāntrika-Āgamic* tradition, the top figure represents Īśāna, the eastern-Tatpurusha, the southern-Āghora, the northern-Sadyojāta and western-Vāmadeva.[2] On palaeographical grounds this *liṅga* may be placed in c. 2nd-1st century B.C.[3]

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[1] *EHI*, II. I, pp, 65 ff ; *HIIA*, Fig. 66.

[2] *Śvaitāśvatara Upanishad*, III, 2.

[3] S.B. Singh, in *East and West*, N.S., Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, p. 340. Fig. 1.

[4] H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 75, Fig. 46.

[5] *HIIA*, p. 32.

Another *liṅga* from Mathura, although broken at the top is perhaps of the same variety. (Mathura Museum No. 15.516).[4] The four side-faces are intact. The fifth face if at all carved, is now completely lost. The symbolism of the various forms of the god is described in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, as well as in the *Mahābhārata*. According to the former, Sadyojāta stands for earth, Vāmadeva represents water, Āghora is the symbol of light, Tatpurusha symbolises wind and Īśāna is the symbol of sky.[5] The *Mahābhārata* says that the eastern face is for maintaining order, the northern face is meant for conversation (with Umā), the western face gives happiness to the creatures and the southern (Rudra) face is for the destruction of the world.[6]

Another variety of *mukhaliṅga* has only four faces. A large number of such *liṅgas* have been found from various parts of the country from the Kushāṇa period onwards. A *Chaturmukha liṅga* from Mathura, now displayed in the National Museum, Delhi (No. 62.172, Fig. 2) is the earliest representation of this form in the best style of the early Kushāṇa art. It has a typical *brahmasūtra* of the Kushāṇa tradition, and shows four faces one on each side. These faces represent the different aspects of Śiva as mentioned above. The remarkable feature of the image is the *jaṭā-jūṭa* on the northern face, representing one form of the deity. This feature can be compared with that of Bharatpur (Rajasthan) Śiva *liṅga* of the same age. Chronologically, the four-faced *liṅga* in the State Museum (No. H. 3) and another similar *liṅga* in a private collection in Kanauj[1] would be mentioned henceforth. They are carved in the classical style of the Gupta age. Special care has been taken to endow the faces with the required expression conforming to the relevant form. The oval faces are exquisitely carved with lotus-shaped eyes, thicker lips, and elongated ears decorated with beautiful rings in the tradition of the Gupta art. The locks of hair are arranged in *jaṭā-jūṭa* fashion. A similar *liṅga* of a slightly later date (c. 7th century A.D.) is exhibited in the Allahabad Museum (No. 636). Another *Chatur-mukha*, belonging to c. 7th century A.D., is seen at Jageshwar. The four faces are oval in shape and have lotus-eyes and thick lips. These are decorated with *jaṭā-mukuṭa,* ear-rings and neck-ornaments. The southern face of Āghora needs special mention since it is characterised by open mouth with long teeth and moustaches, showing his fearful form. The other three faces are serene.

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[1] *ASR.*, 1909-10, pp. 147-48.

[2] *EHI*, II, I, p. 98 ; There is some discrepancy between the accounts of *Āgamas* and the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the latter states that the top figure represents similarly Īśāna, the eastern of Sadyojāta, the northern of Vāmadeva, the southern of Āghora and the western of Tatpurusha. (III, 48.1). This text also provides other designations for the faces, such as, Mahādeva, Umāvaktra, Bhairava Nandivaktra and Sadā- Śiva- (III, 48, 4-6).

[3] ASR, 1909-10, p. 64.

[4] *cf.* Diskalkar. *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV.

[5] III, 48, 1.

[6] *Anuśāsanaparva*, 141, 5-6.

The third variety of *mukhaliṅga* has two faces carved back to back (Mathura Museum No. 462). One of them with long moustaches and ferocious look may be identified with Bhairava who has third eye on the forehead. The other face, partly damaged may be identified as that of Umā, since it has no third eye. Agrawala[2] places it in the post-Gupta period, whereas N.P. Joshi[3] considers it to be a product of the Gupta age. But considering the art style it may be placed in the later Gupta period.

Among the *mukhaliṅgas*, the one-faced variety comprise the largest number. The earliest *ekamukha liṅga* belongs to the Kushāṇa period, and consists of a human face carved on the *liṅga* in the representative tradition of the age. It has curly *jaṭā*, oval face, thick lips and bulging eyes which are the typical characteristics of the Kushāṇa period (State Museum, No. H. 2). It appears that this variety gained more popularity in the Gupta age, as a large number of such *liṅgas* are deposited in the Mathura Museum. They have been delicately carved with smiling face, lotus-eyes and elongated ears which create a calm and reposeful effect (Mathura Museum, Nos. 19. 1588; 18.1533 and 34.2528). An *ekamukha liṅga* at Deogarh is assignable to the late Gupta period. An early medieval *ekamukha liṅga* with typical features of the period is seen at Jageshwar. Another *ekamukha liṅga* from Mahoba depicts *jaṭāmukuṭa*, three eyes, and moon over the head.

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[1] Illustrated by K. M. Munshi in The *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 52.

[2] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 28.

[3] *Mathura Sculptures*, p. 32.

Liṅga depicted over Nandī.

A rock-cut image on the approach road to the Kalinjar fort (Banda) is unique in representing a *liṅga* installed on the back of Nandī seated below. The *liṅga* is represented on a lotus-shaped pedestal carved on the back of Nandī The figure of Gaṇeśa is also carved beside the bull. This type of representation is remarkable from the iconographic point of view, as it shows virtuosity of the artisans of the medieval period. As far as this region is concerned, such depiction is still unkown. (Fig. 3).

Composite liṅgas

The last class of the *liṅgas* may be classified as composite *liṅgas*, which are carved with the figures of such Brahmanical deities as Sūrya, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī or Brahmā, etc. However, none of these *liṅgas* can be placed earlier than the early-medieval period. This variety is described along with the syncretic images.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF ŚIVA

The anthropomorphic forms of Śiva, representing different modes of his life and legends, are various in number. They are classified typologically, and are found from the Kushāṇa period onwards.

Ūrdhva-retas Śiva

The *ūrdhva-retas* Śiva, is usually shown naked with his phallus erect, symbolising this form. The *retas* is styled in the language of symbolism as butter.[1] The seed (*retas*) is the great power of Śiva, and is further symbolised as the Nandī bull. In the *Ṛigveda*[2], the Bull is named as Indra, Agni or Sūrya, or *Ghṛita* and the great God who himself is immortal but descends to the level of matter. V.S. Agrawala states[3] that the foundation of the physical and psychical or vital energy is the seed, and therefore, the highest emphasis is laid on *brahmacharya*, or the purity of physical, vital and psychical sheaths in each body represented as *ūrdhva-retas* aspect of Śiva, even though he has accommodated Pārvatī or the Female Energy as one half of his total aspect. This philosophical speculation of *Vedas* later led to the formation of images of *ūrdhva-retas* Śiva, either standing or seated alone, or in Ardhanārīśvara form, or along with Pārvatī in an embracing pose. This type of image is designed as *ūrdhva-retas* form of the deity, and such images are seen in the various parts of the country.

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[1] *Atharvaveda*, XI, 8, 29.

[2] IV, 58, 3.

[3] *Śiva-Mahādeva, Preface*, p.5.

The *ūrdhva-retas* images of Śiva have been carved artistically from the Kushāṇa period, onwards. These are shown either in Ardhanārīśvara form, or as Umā-Maheśvaramūrti (Mathura Museum, No. 800 ; and Nos. G. 52 and 2495), described later. Another sculpture, exhibited in the same Museum (No. 474)[1] shows the deity in this aspect. It may be assigned to the Gupta period. An *ūrdhva-retas-Vṛishavāhana mūrti* at Jageshwar, treated artistically with the figures of Umā-Maheśvara, shows fine contour and peaceful physiognomy. It bears the style and plasticity of c. 7th-8th century A.D. The god is shown with phallus erect, and seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on Nandī, wearing matted locks, necklace, *yogapaṭṭa* around the belly and other ornaments. He has only two hands, holding a lotus-stalk in the right and touching the chin of Umā with the left. She is seated on the lap of Śiva with her crossed-legs, and wears a fine garment with checkered designs. A mirror is shown in her left hand, and she embraces the deity with the right one. Gaṇeśa is also seated below. The deity, of course, represents *Vṛishavāhana*-Umā-Maheśvara mūrti, but it also represents *ūrdhva-retas* form (Fig. 4).

Another way of showing this form is to represent the deity all alone with his phallus erect. A statuette from Jageshwar shows this type of depiction where Śiva is shown alone, seated in *lalitāsana* on Nandī. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the left and an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the right ear-lobes, and garland of human skulls. He is shown with four arms, carrying a bowl in the front left, a trident in the back left, a lotus-stalk along with rosary in the back right hands, and the fourth hand is shown in *varadamudrā*. A snake is emerging out of his *jaṭā*, crossing to his back right hand. Vishṇu. Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Vīrabhadra and Vidyādharas are also carved. The image seems to be of c. 10th century A.D. and is an unique figure of *ūrdhva-retas* form of Śiva.

Lakulīśa

The Lakulīśa-Pāśupata is the earliest school which gave rise to many later sects of the *Ś*aivas. The Lakulīśa branch of the Pāśupatas, mentioned in the

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[1] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 130.

Sarva-Darśana Saṁgraha, must have been founded before the Gupta period.[1] Lakulīśa is regarded as an incarnation of Śiva-Maheśvara in a number of works.[2] The *Purāṇas* state that he was the twenty-eighth and the last incarnation of Śiva born in a *brahmina* family of Kāyāvarohaṇa (modern (Karavana) in Gujarat.[3] The basic conception of this school is contained in the *Pañchadhyāyī* which is attributed to Lakulīśa.[4] The *Pañchārthī-Bhāshya* by Rasikara is an important literary work of the Gupta period which provides interesting material for the study of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata school in this age.[5] The epigraphic evidences also indicate that this school continued at least till the thirteenth century A.D.[6]

The earliest image of Lakulīśa is exhibited in the Mathura Museum (No. 45.3211), and belongs to the Gupta period. It is artistically executed with fine workmanship and has an oval face, lotus-shaped eyes, elongated ears and slender waist. The deity is seated within a medallion in *utkuṭikāsana* with two ascetics flanking him. A *yogapaṭṭa* is tied around his knees, passing from the back. He is shown with two arms, the right one held in *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, and carrying a staff in the left arm-pit placed upside down. His eyes are half closed in meditation. The head is covered with a curly hair. The ear-lobes have big holes, and the deity is shown as ithyphallic. The flanking figures are evidently ascetics with matted locks and pierced ear-lobes. The figure on the left carries a book and a rosary, while the hands of the figure on the right are broken. The central ithyphallic figure with staff leaves no doubt that it represents Lakulīśa as an incarnation of Śiva in a severe *yogic* posture. The present sculpture bears testimony to the emphasis laid on *yogic* practices by the Pāśupatas in general and the sub-sect of Lakulīśa in particular.[7]

The two sculptures at Jageshwar represent Lakulīśa, one with two arms, the other with four. The two-armed figure is carved in the panel of a temple, seated in *svastikāsana* on a pedestal. He has matted locks, and is shown as ithyphallic. He carries a staff in the left hand and the right one though raised

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1. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Lakulīśa should be placed in the second century B.C. (*VSMRS*, p. 116). But D. R. Bhandarkar would assign him to the second quarter of the first century A.D. (*EI*, XXI, pp. 1ff).
2. *Śaiva Cult in Northern India*, p. 7.
3. *Vāyu*, ch. 23 ; *Liṅga*, ch. 24.
4. This led R. G. Bhandarkar to infer that Lakulīśa was the founder of the Pāśupata school itself (*VSMRS*, p. 172).
5. *Śaiva Cult in Northern India*, p. 9, ff. 3.
6. *VSMRS*, pp. 166, ff.
7. *Mbh. Śāntiparva*, 284, 188 ; 284, 90.

in *abhaya-mudrā*, holds a rosary. A Vidyādhara is flying on either side with a garland in his hands. Four ascetics, two on either side of the deity with matted locks and ithyphallic in nature, are also shown. One of the figures is seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose, with right hand raised upto the chin and the left one placed on the lap. Another figure is seated in *āliḍha* posture with folded hands. The two other figures are similarly executed. They represent probably the four disciples of Lakulīśa-Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitreya.[1] The other figure of Lakulīśa at Jageshwar is similarly seated. The ithyphallic deity wears a *rudrāksh-mālā*, *yajñopavita* and matted locks. A parasol of four tiers is shown over his head. The deity is shown with a *Śrivatsa* mark and a third eye on the forehead. He has four hands which carry a staff in the broken front right, a lotus-stalk and rosary in the back right, a fruit in the front left and a book in the back left hands. On either side an ascetic is shown with folded hands. Nandī is also carved below. (Fig. 5). On the stylistic grounds both the sculptures may be assigned to c. 8th-9th century A.D.

Dakshiṇāmūrti

Śiva is a master of *yoga*, music and other sciences, and in this form is known as Dakshiṇāmūrti. Another account gives the explanation regarding the etymology of this name by stating that Śiva was seated facing south when he taught the *ṛishis-yoga* and *jñāna*, and hence come to be known as Dakshiṇāmūrti. It is symbolic of his four different aspects, as a teacher of *yoga*, of *viṇā*, *of jñāna*, and as an expounder of other *śāshtras*, represented respectively, by Yoga-Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇāmūrti, Jñāna-Dakshiṇāmūrti and Vyākhyāna-Dakshiṇāmūrti.[2]

Yoga-Dakshiṇāmūrti

According to the *Āgamas* (*Aṁśumadabheda*, *Uttara-Kāmika* and *Śilparatna*), this form may be represented in three different ways. In the first, the two legs of the image should be crossed as in the *svastikāsana*, while the front right hand should be held near the chest in the *yoga-mudrā,* and the front left hand should rest upon the lap in the *yogic* posture. In the back right-hand there should be the rosary and in the back left hand a lotus flower. The gaze must be fixed on the tip of the nose, and a few *jaṭās* should hang over the shoulders. The ascetics should be surrounding the god. In the second mode of representation of this form, the left leg of the figure should be bent in the *utkuṭikāsana* posture and a *yogapaṭṭa* should be encircling the body and the left leg. The right leg should be kept stretched and be resting by the elbow on the knee of the bent left leg; other features remaining the same as in the previous variety. In the third form the two legs are bent and crossed in a more or less vertical position, and a *yogapaṭṭa* is passed round these and the body to keep the legs in position. The front two arms are stretched and kept resting on the knees. In the back right hand there should be a rosary and in the back left hand a *kamaṇḍalu*. The *jaṭā* should be disposed in the form of a *jaṭāmaṇḍala*, and in it should be the crescent moon, a snake and other objects.[1]

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[1] *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, XXIII, 224-25. The *Cintra praśasti* also refers to those who abided by the Pāśupata vow and founded respectively four different branches of Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect (*VSMRS*, pp. 167-68).

[2] *EHI*, *II*, *I*, pp. 273-74.

Only a few images of this variety have been found in this region ; one each at Garhwa (Allahabad), Jageshwar & Baijnath (Almora), and also in the State and Allahabad Museums. It may be pointed out that they do not perfectly agree with the textual descriptions. These images portray the deity as seated on a cushion in *svastikāsana* or *utkuṭikāsana*. He is two or four-armed, and wears his usual ornaments. The sculpture in the State Museum (No. H. 101) represents four-armed god seated on a pedestal. His front two hands are resting on the lap in *yogic* posture, and he holds a trident and a snake in the back two hands, (c. 10th century A.D.). A similar image of Yoga-Dakshiṇāmūrti comes from Garhwa fort, Allahabad. The deity is seated in *svastikāsana* with the front two hands placed on the lap in *yogic* posture. He carries a lotus flower in the back right hand, while the back left one is broken. The god wears *Jaṭā-mauli*, ear-pendants, necklace, holy-thread, armlets, anklets and a long garland. Nandī is seated below. Brahmā and Vishṇu are shown on the top panel. Vīrabhadra and Pārvatī are also carved in the relief. (Fig. 6).

A sculpture from Jageshwar represents the second variety of the Yoga-Dakshiṇā mūrti, described in the *Āgamas* noted above, with a variation in attribute. Śiva is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* with the right leg bent (instead of the left as prescribed in the texts). A *yogapaṭṭa* is tied round the body and the right leg ; the left leg is turned in *lalitāsana*. He wears matted locks, necklace, *yajñopavīta*, *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the left ear-lobe and an ordinary ear-ring in the right. The deity has three eyes—the third one on the forehead. He is shown with two hands, the right being turned and slightly raised on the knee with a lotus flower ; the left one is stretched, turned and resting by the elbow on the *paraśu* placed upside down on the pedestal. (Fig. 7). On the basis of style the image can be dated in c. 8th-9th century A.D. A sculpture from Baijnath (Almora) is quite interesting from the iconographic point of view. The deity is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on a lotus, with a *yogapaṭṭa* encircling the body and legs. He is shown with two arms, keeping probably a lotus in the left hand ; the right one is broken. The god is shown with three heads, adorned with matted locks, keeping a third eye on the forehead, and wears a beaded necklace. These faces might represent Tatpurusha, Āghora and Vāmadeva[1] and, as such, the image may be designated as that of Maheśa. Moreover, it partly meets the iconographic features of the third variety of Yoga-Dakshiṇā mūrti, so it may be identified as Yoga-Dakshiṇā-Maheśa mūrti. Stylistically, the image may be dated to c. 10th-11th century A.D. (Fig. 8).

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[1] *EHI*. II, I, pp. 284-85.

Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇā Mūrti.

The *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* states that in the Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇā mūrti, the left leg should be kept in the *utkuṭikāsana*, and the two front hands should hold the *vīṇā*; the rest should be similar to the Vyākhyāna-mūrti. According to the *Kāmikāgama*, the Gāna-Dakshiṇā mūrti should have the front right and left hands held in the *kaṭaka* pose, the former with its palm facing below and the latter facing above. The *kaṭaka* pose being slightly different in form, is called *sarpākara*. The left arm should be lifted up and the right arm lowered below, so as to hold in proper position the long handled musical instrument—the *vīṇā*. It should be held at the top with the left hand, and with the right one at the lower end. The lower right hand should be manipulating the strings of the instrument.[2]

Sculptures representing Vīṇādhara-Śiva are distributed in an extensive area of the country, of course varying in attributes and artistic disposition. The conformity noticed in all the images is the musical instrument *vīṇā* in the front hands. The sculptor appears to have taken liberty with regard to the attributes in other hands. The deity usually wears beaded-necklace, armlets, waist-band, *sarpāhāra,* and *jaṭāmukuṭa* or *jaṭābhāra*, and is shown either standing or sitting in *lalitāsana*, or alternatively in *utkuṭikāsana*. He is often depicted with four arms.

A sculpture from Baijnath shows an interesting figure of Vīṇādhara-Śiva, seated in *lalitāsana* on Nandī. He wears matted locks and other ornaments, and carries *vīṇā* in the front two hands. The remaining two hands carry a ring and a trident. On the basis of style the sculpture may be dated to c. 10th, 11th century A.D. The image may be identified as of Vṛishavāhana-Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇā mūrti, as it is associated with Nandī. (Fig. 9). An image in the Allahabad Museum (No. 950) also shows similar Vīṇādhara-Śiva along with Nandī who is seated before the Lord, (c. 8th, 9th century, A.D.). An image from Jageshwar depicts Vīṇādhara-Śiva seated in *lalitāsana* on Nandī and playing on the musical instrument with the front two hands. He holds a lotus and a rosary in the back right hand and a trident in the back left. Vidyādharas are flying over him, (c. 10th century A.D.). The sculpture agrees partly with the description of the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* in having rosary and *vīṇā*,[1] (Fig. 10). Another image from the same place represents this aspect of Śiva along with Umā. The deity is seated in *svastikāsana* on Nandī, with his consort seated on his lap. He embraces her with his back left hand and carries a trident in the back right hand. He plays *vīṇā* with the front two hands. The goddess holds a mirror in the left hand and embraces the Lord with the right. Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are present in the composition, (Fig. 11, c. 12th century A.D.). A sculpture from Gopeshwar (Chamoli) shows Vīṇādhara-Śiva standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose and playing on *vīṇā* similarly. He carries a bell and a snake in the other two hands, (c. 10th century A.D.). The sculpture tallies with the description of the *Āgamas* in having *vīṇā* but the snake and bell are not mentioned there.[2]

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[1] *Supra*, p. 13.

[2] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 289-90.

Vyākhyāna-Dakshiṇā Mūrti

These images should be represented as seated in *vīrāsana* under a banyan tree, on a seat or on a white lotus. This Dakshiṇā mūrti should have three eyes and four arms ; the front right one is held in the *sandarśana-mudrā* and the front left hand may be kept in the *varada* pose or stretched straight in the *daṇḍa* pose; the elbow resting upon the left knee in that latter posture. The back right hand should hold the rosary, while in the back left hand there should be either fire or a snake. According to the *Āgamic* texts, one of the left hands may be in the *varada* pose or the *daṇḍa* pose ; if it is in the former it might keep a book ; the other left hand holding a snake, fire or a lotus. The various parts of the body should be without any bend. His head might be adorned with a *jaṭābhāra, jaṭābandha, jaṭāmaṇḍala* or *jaṭāmukuṭa*, or the *jaṭās*

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 289-90.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 289-90.

might be held together with a *paṭṭabandha*. The mass of the *jaṭās* should be embellished with the flowers of *durdura* (*dhatūrā*) and other wild plants, as also with a serpent on the left and with small tinkling bells, the *kapāla* and the crescent moon on the right side. In the middle of the *jaṭābhāra*, Gaṅgā should be visible. His person should be adorned with all ornaments, *yajñopavīta*, *śaṁkhapatra* in the left ear and *kuṇḍala* in the right ear. A garland of the *rudrāksha* should be hanging round the neck. His sight must be fixed upon the tip of the nose. Surrounding the god there should be *ṛishis*. The *Apashmārapurusha* should also be shown.[1]

Two Vyākhyāna-Dakshiṇā mūrtis—one from Jageshwar and the other in the State Museum show a considerable departure from the textual descriptions. It is noteworthy that the identification of the image is based only on the *vyākhyānamudrā* of one of the hands, and keeping a rosary in the back right hand; the other features do not tally with the textual account.

A sculpture at Jageshwar representing Vyākhyāna mūrti is unique in having Umā in *āliṅgana* pose, to whom the Lord is teaching with the front right hand held in *sandarśana mudrā*. The deity is seated in *lalitāsana* on Nandī, and wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right ear, an ear-ring in the left and a garland, and keeps a *yogapaṭṭa* passing around the right knee and the body. He holds a lotus flower along with a rosary in the back right hand, trident in the back left, and embraces his consort with the front left hand. She is seated on his lap, wearing coiffured hair, a *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear and an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the left ear along with other usual ornaments. The left hand of the goddess is folded at the elbow and rests on her knee while the right hand is placed on the left foot of the god. She is attentive to the discourse of the Lord. Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Vīrabhadra, Nāgī, lion, *gaṇas* and Vidyādharas are also carved. The image in the State Museum (No. 55. 281) probably representing Vyākhyānamūrti is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. The deity wears a fine drapery, embellished *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *yajñopavīta* and *muṇḍamālā*. His front right and left hands are held in *vyākhyāna* and *kaṭyāvalambita* poses respectively, while he carries a trident in the back right hand ; the fourth is broken. On stylistic grounds, these sculptures may be assigned to c. 9th-10th century A.D.

Naṭarāja

Śiva is a great master of the art of dancing, and the *Śaivāgamas* relate how Śiva danced in a hundred and eight modes, but describe only nine of them. Rao has fully dealt with these eight modes of dancing.[1] According to the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* the image of Naṭarāja should be sculptured with four arms; the front left hand should be held in the *daṇḍahasta* or the *gajahasta* pose, across the body, and the back left hand should carry fire either in a vessel, or upon the palm itself. The front right hand should be held in the *abhaya* pose. On the fore-arm of this hand, there should be *sarpa-valaya*. The back right hand should carry a *ḍamarū*. The right leg should be slightly bent and placed upon the back of *Apashmārapurusha*, and the knee should reach the *nābhisūtra*. The left leg should be lifted up, somewhat turned towards the right leg and kept across it. On the head of Śiva there should be the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, decorated with flower garlands. The body of Śiva should be adorned with a *yajñopavīta*, a chest band and rings on fingers. The chest should be smeared with saffron paste and the rest of the body with ashes. The garment must be made of tiger-skin.[2] Sarasvatī should be shown as playing on *viṇā*, Indra on the flute; Brahmā marking the time by cymbals, Lakshmī giving a song, and Vishṇu playing on a drum with all the gods standing round him[3].

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 274-77.

Naṭarāja image is found from the Gupta period onward. (Gupta temple Sakor, Damoh, M.P.). It is artistically carved with exquisite beauty and sublime tenderness with fine rhythm of limbs in a lively fashion, transforming the physical form into the cosmic upheaval. A frieze from Lakhamandal (Dehra Dun) represents Naṭarāja with ten arms. The deity wears matted locks, ear-pendants, necklace, *mekhalā* and a garland. He is stretching a snake over his head with the back two hands ; the other two hands are raised as to touch his head in dancing pose. He holds a *ḍamarū* in one of the right hands and a trident in the left one. He is touching the chin of a female figure, playing on a drum with one of his right hands; the other one held in *gajahasta* pose. One of his left hands is held akimbo; the other one raised in *abhayamudrā*. The deity is dancing in rhythmic pose with the right leg slightly raised. The lotus-eyes, thicker lips, elongated ears and slim body of the deity represent the image to the later Gupta period. (Fig. 12).[4]

A medieval sculpture from Ballesvara temple, Champawat represents Naṭarāja with left leg lifted up in a triangular fashion, and the body about the hip and knee being slightly turned on one side. He carries a snake in back hands, while a trident is placed within the right arm-pit ; the left arm is held in *kaṭaka* pose and the front right hand is held near the chest. Drum player is shown below. Nandī is gazing towards the deity. This type of dance is designated as *bhujaṅgatrāsa* in the *Bhārat Nāṭya Śāstra*[1] (Fig. 13). A frieze is delicately executed on the frontal porch of a temple at Jageshwar with the figure of Naṭarāja in the dancing posture. His left leg is slightly raised in rhythmic action and the right is stretched, bending at the knee. He wears matted locks, ear-rings, fine drapery, and holds a snake and a trident in the back left and right hands respectively. His front left hand is held in *daṇḍahasta* across the body, and the front right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*. Gaṇeśa, and Kārttikeya on his mount peacock are shown in the panel. Below, a female figure is standing with a fly-whisk in her right hand, followed by another seated female who should be none else but Sarasvatī, playing on the *viṇā*. Two male figures are seated on the left side; one of them playing on the flute may be Indra. On stylistic ground the sculpture can be safely placed in c. 8th-9th century A.D. The image partly agrees with the description of the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*[2].

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 223-24.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.

[3] Coomarswamy, A. K. *The Dance of Śiva*, pp. 83 ff.

[4] S.B. Singh, *Lalit Kalā*, 16, p. 48, Fig. 2.

An image from Rikhian, Banda, represents six-armed Naṭarāja dancing in artistic manner on the tune of *viṇā*. The deity wears *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, neck-ornaments, girdle, armlets, anklets and *yajñopavīta*,. He is playing on *viṇā* with the front two hands; the second left hand carries a snake and the third left one is holding the musical instrument, while the back right hands are broken. On either side attendants are shown with folded hands. Cymbal players are also carved in the relief. Nandī is seated below, gazing at the god with adoration. The image is interesting in representing *viṇā* in the hands of the deity and it belongs to the medieval period. (Fig. 14).[3]

A frieze at Gopeshwar is remarkable in representing Naṭarāja with ten arms[4]. The deity is dancing with the right leg slightly raised and the left one bent in rhythmic action. He wears *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, adorned with flower garlands and crescent, *yajñopavīta*, armlets, anklets and bracelets. He plays on *viṇā* with the front two hands, and carries a shield, *khaṭvāṅga*, a bow, and *kapāla* in

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1. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 225-26.
2. *Supra*. p. 23. It may also be enumerated that four-armed Naṭarāja from the Madras State are the fine specimen of the medieval period. *Viśvakarmā*, Pl, XXX ; and *Indian Art*, Pl. IX, etc.
3. S.B. Singh, op. cit., p. 48.
4. S. B. Singh, op. cit., p. 48, Fig. 3.

the left hands and a *ḍamarū*, a *triśūla*, a sword and an arrow in the right ones. Nandī is gazing at the Lord in the happy mood. Below, drum and cymbal players, probably Vishṇu and Brahmā, are carved in the bas-relief. The entire theme is worked out in a most artistic fashion. The frieze can be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The interesting feature of the image is that it differs widely from canons in having ten arms and so representing the deity in *tāṇḍava* dance on the tune of *viṇā*, which incorporates a pleasing combination of the dance and music.[1] In this context, it is to be pointed out that the six-armed Naṭarāja from the temple of Mukteśvara[2] and eight-armed image from Ellora[3] have very little common to compare.

Another sculpture from Rikhian, Banda represents twelve-armed Naṭarāja dancing with the front right and left hands held in *gajahasta* and *abhaya* poses respectively, which is just reverse to the canonical prescription. The deity wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-pendants, necklaces, *Śrīvatsa* mark, armlets, anklets and *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. He carries a trident, sword, *ḍamarū*, and bowl in the right hands and *khaṭvāṅga*, snake, shield and bell in the left ones; the back two hands hold an elephant-skin over the head. Nandī, a dancing *gaṇa* and a cymbal player are also carved in the relief. The image belongs to the medieval period.

Kalyāṇa-Sundara Mūrti

The *Śiva-Purāṇā*[4] and the *Padma-Purāṇa*[5] record the legend of the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī with minor variations. The *asura* Tāraka was troubling the gods and *brahmins*, and none could overpower him except an offspring of Śiva. But Śiva did not have a wife. So the gods got interested in marriage of Śiva. Morever, Satī was born as Párvatī to the god of Himālaya (Himavāna) and was practising penances for obtaining Śiva as her lord. Meanwhile, Kāma induced by the gods, tried his artifices upon Śiva who burnt him to ashes in a fit of anger. Thereupon the gods prayed to Śiva to remarry, and he ultimately yielded to their prayers. Thus, the Kalyāṇa-Sundara mūrti came into being for depicting the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī.

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[1] The image partly agrees with the *Matsya-Purāṇa* which prescribes ten-armed-image of Naṭarāja dancing on his bull, (259, 10-11). The *Āgamas* also refer to the ten-armed deity performing *tāṇḍava* dance (*EHI*, II, I, p. 234).

[2] Pierre Rambach and Vitold De Golish, *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, Fig. LXXX.

[3] Havell, *Ideals of Indian Art*, Pl. XXIX.

[4] *Rudra Saṁhitā*, *Pārvatī Khaṇḍa*, II ff.

[5] *Sṛishṭi Khaṇḍa*, 45 ff.

The *Āgamas* (*Aṁśumada, Uttara-Kāmika, Pūrvakarṇa* and *Śilparatna*) give a detailed description of Kalyāṇa-Sundaramūrti in which Śiva and Pārvatī should be the central figures, facing the east. Vishṇu along with Lakshmī and Bhūmi, acting as parents, should be ready to pour water in the ceremony of giving away the bride to the bridegroom. Brahmā should be seated, performing the ceremony of *homa*. Besides them, eight Vidyeśvras, Dikpālas, Siddhas, Yakshas, Ṛishis, Gandharvas, Mātrikās and a host of other gods and goddesses should be shown with pleasing faces. Śiva should be standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with his front right hand stretched as to receive the right arms of the bride Pārvatī and his front left hand should be in *varada* pose. He should carry *paraśu* in the back right hand and *mṛiga* in the left, and be adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, crescent moon and other usual ornaments. The right arm of the goddess should be stretched out to recieve the hand of Śiva. Brahmā performing *Purohita's* rites, should be seated on a lotus with a *kuṇḍa* in front, in which the fire is burning. He should have four faces and wear matted locks and *yajñopavita*, and carry *śruva* and *śruk* in the two front hands and rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* in the back ones.[1]

A few typical images of Kalyāṇa-Sundara mūrti, from Kanauj, Allahabad Museum and Bharat Kala Bhawan are to be discussed here. These sculptures are mostly executed according to the description of the *Āgamas* with plasticity and slenderness. The central theme is the marriage of Śiva who is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with left leg stretched and the right somewhat bent. He wears a necklace, holy-thread, garland, *jaṭāmukuṭa* decorated with *kirtimukhas*. Pārvatī is also standing beside him in similar pose, wearing a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, necklace, ear-rings, armlets, and fine drapery. Vishṇu is shown beside Pārvatī, as offering the bride to the bridegroom. Brahmā who performs the rites as priest, is showm as seated in *utkuṭikāsana* or *padmāsana* between Śiva and Pārvatī, and he is casting oblation in the fire. The *lalāṭa-bimba* of the sculpture is shown with Śiva-Pārvatī image, both seated on Nandī. Indra, Yama, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Navagrahas, Bhūtagaṇas and other gods and goddesses are also shown. The sculptures at Kanauj[2] (Fig. 15) and Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 175, Fig. 16) F. P. Etah, represent two armed Śiva holding the right hand of his consort in his right one and in the left either a lotus flower or held akimbo. The two-armed deity has a variation with the description of the *Āgamas*[1] which mention four arms.

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 338-42.

[2] V.S. Agrawala, *Śiva Mahādeva.* Pl, XI; *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, P1. 68; C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 139, P1. 34.

The deity is shown four-armed in the Allahabad Museum (No. 264), and carries a *ḍamarū* in the front left hand, a lotus flower in the back left, a trident in the back right and the last one holds the hand of his consort. The deity is four-armed in accordance with the *Āgamas* but the attributes do not tally. These sculptures may be assigned to c. 9th-10th century A.D. on the basis of the style. Moreover, this particular image somewhat resembles with Ellora Kalyāṇa Sundara mūrti[2].

Umā-Sahita Mūrti

According to the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* and *Śilparatna*, this type of image of Śiva should have Devī on his left side either on the same pedestal or on a different one.[3]

The *Devi* should have only two arms, holding a lotus flower in the right hand and keeping her left hand either in the *siṁhakarṇa* pose or resting straight on the seat. The *Śilparatna* mentions that she should keep an *utpala* flower in the right hand, and the left hand may either be held in the *varada* pose, or may rest on the *pīṭha*. The goddess should be wearing all the required ornaments, including a crown.[4]

Umā-Sahita mūrtis are noticed at Deogarh, Chandpur (Jhansi) and in the Bharat Kala Bhawan. In these images, Śiva and Pārvatī are standing in *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose, wearing their usual dress and ornaments. The god is represented with two or four arms. A sculpture from Deogarh shows Umā-Sahita mūrti of Śiva with fine workmanship. Both figures are standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose. The deity wears *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, armlets, anklets, bracelets and garland. He is four-armed, carrying a *kapāla* in the front right hand, a *khaṭvāṅga* in the back left which is also being supported by the front left hand and a *ḍamarū* in the back left hand. On his left side Pārvatī is shown with a crown, bangles, ear-rings, necklace and other ornaments. She holds a lotus flower in her left hand and a mirror in the right. Nandī is seated below. Besides them, Yamunā is shown on a tortoise. The image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 643) shows similar image of Śiva with four arms, holding a snake in the left hand, a trident in the right and indistinct objects in the other two hands. Pārvatī is shown without mirror. The Chandpur sculpture represents Umā-Sahita mūrti, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. Śiva is shown with two arms, holding a *khaṭvāṅga* in the left hand and the right arm is resting on the thigh. Umā is similarly standing with a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* over her head. She carries a lotus—stalk in her left hand, while the right one is resting on the thigh. A female attendant is also carved. On stylistic basis, these sculptures may be placed in c. 10th-11th century A.D., and they are generally executed in accordance with the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* and *Śilparatna.*

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[1] *Supra*. p. 26.

[2] S. N. Das Gupta, *Fundamentals of Indian Art*, Fig. 19.

[3] *EHI*, II, I, p, 120.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 130-131.

Umā-Maheśvara Mūrti

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* states that Umā-Maheśvara should be adorned with their usual ornaments. Śiva should have two or four hands carrying a trident in the right hand and embracing the goddess with the left one. Pārvatī should be seated on his left lap, carrying a mirror and a lotus in the left hand and embracing the god with the right. Jayā, Vijayā, Kārttikeya. Gaṇeśa and Vidyādharas should also be sculptured.[1] According to the *Vishṇudharmottara* Śiva and Umā should be seated together and embracing each other in the Umā-Maheśvara mūrti. The god should have *jaṭāmukuṭa* with crescent moon and be two armed, holding a *nīlotpala* flower in the right hand and embracing his consort with the left, Umā should have a handsome bust and hips, should embrace the Lord with the right hand and carry a mirror in the left. The figures of Śiva and Umā should be sculptured very beautifully[2].

The *Rūpamaṇḍana*[3] informs us that Śiva should have four arms carrying a trident and *mātuluṅga* fruit in the right hands, a snake in the left while with the other left hand he should embrace his consort. The description of the goddess is almost the same as found in the *Vishṇudharmottara.* This group should also include Nandī, Gaṇeśa, Kumāra and a lean and emaciated figure of the recluse Bhṛiṅgī.

Umā is for the first time associated with Śiva in the plastic art of the Kushāṇa period. A number of sculptures of this period in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 2495[4] and 2106) represent Śiva along with Umā, embracing each other. The deity is shown invariably in *ūrdhva-retas* form and has two arms. The attributes cannot be ascertained as the hands are broken. How-

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1. 260, 11-20.
2. Quoted from *EHI*, II, I, pp. 132-34.
3. IV, 27-28.
4. *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 128.

ever, one of the hands of Pārvatī is akimbo. Nandī is also carved on the relief.

The *āliṅgana* images of the Gupta period represent Śiva and Pārvatī standing together in *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose along with Nandī. Śiva is shown with *jaṭāmukuṭa* or *jaṭābhāra,* and wears neck-ornament, armlets, holy-thread, transparent loin-cloth and tiger-skin. He is frequently two-armed, embracing his consort with the left hand. The deity is generally shown ithyphallic. Umā wears her hair in different styles of *keśabandha,* and her ornaments consist of ear-rings, double-necklaces, armlets and a triple-chained girdle. Her undergarment consist of gracefully falling *vadhū-dukūla,* and a scarf may be falling from her shoulder and arms. She frequently carries a flower in the left hand, while the right hand is thrown around Śiva in embracing pose. There are a few Gupta sculptures of this variety—two in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 2084 and 474), and one each at Lakhamandal and in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 132).[1] The slab containing the image No. 2084 has two stele on the opposite sides—both containing identified composition. It shows Śiva standing with Pārvatī on his left and a bull behind. The deity and his consort are shown in the same fashion as described above. It has also a bull standing behind the couple, as such, it may be designed as Āliṅgana-Vṛishavāhana mūrti. The Mathura image No. 474 represents Śiva and Umā apparently in the same posture but being too worn, details can not be seen.

A frieze from Lakhamandal (Dehra Dun) depicts Āliṅgana-Vṛishavāhana mūrti of Śiva with *jaṭāmukuṭa,* neck-ornaments, holy-thread, *mekhalā,* armlets and anklets. The deity is seated in *utkuṭikāsana,* and has four arms. He has a trident in the broken right hand, a *nīlotpala* in front right hand, a fruit in the front left, and embracing the goddess with the back left hand. Umā is seated on his left lap and carries an unidentified object in the right hand and a mirror in the left. She wears her usual ornaments. Gaṇeśa and *gaṇas* are shown below. The image partly agrees with descriptions of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Matsya-Purāṇa,* and belongs to the Gupta period (Fig. 17). The Bharat Kala Bhawan image (No. 132) shows four-armed Śiva embracing Umā with a bull at their back. The front left hand of the deity is resting on the shoulder of Umā and his front right hand is placed above her right bosom. In his back right hand he is holding a *triśūla* and in the back left a snake. The figure of Umā resembles the one in Mathura Museum (No. 2084) in almost all respects. The notable feature of the image is a small seated figure of Gaṇeśa on the left bottom of the panel. On stylistic ground this sculpture may be assigned to the late Gupta period. The present sculpture partially corresponds with the description of the image in the *Rūpamaṇḍana.*[1]

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[1] An inscribed image of Śiva-Pārvatī from Kausambī belongs to the reign of Kumār Gupta I. It shows Śiva standing with right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and holding a water vessel in the left. Pārvatī carries a mirror in the left hand while the right is posed in *abhaya mudrā*. *DHI, Pl.* XXXVIII, Fig. 2.

A frieze of the later Gupta period is noticed at Lakhamandal (Dehra Dun). In one of them Śiva is seated in *lalitāsana* over the bull. The four-armed deity carries a trident in the back right hand, a rosary in the front right hand held in *varadamudrā*; the back left holding a lotus flower, and with the front left he is embracing the goddess. Umā is seated on his left lap embracing the God with her right hand. Gaṇeśa, Vidyādhara and *gaṇas* are also carved in the relief. The image partly meets the description of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (Fig. 18).

In the medieval sculptures, the deities are generally shown either standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, or seated on *bhadrāsana, lalitāsana, or padmāsana* on Nandī, or on a pedestal. Śiva is shown with *jaṭāmukuṭa, jaṭābhāra* or *jaṭāmaṇḍala*, and wears a necklace, armlets, anklets, ear-rings or *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right ear and an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the left, a *yajñopavīta* and also a *yogapaṭṭa* in certain images. Umā wears an elaborate coiffure with a big *Jūḍā* at the top, ear-rings, double necklace and other usual ornaments. The deity in the State Museum (No. 51.273) is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with his usual dress and ornaments. Śiva has only two hands, embracing his consort with the left, while the right is akimbo. Umā embraces the Lord with her right hand and the left hand is held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose (c. 10th century A.D.). The image partly agrees with the description in the *Vishṇudharmottara* except that the deity does not carry a lotus flower.

The seated images of Maheśvara in embracing pose are invariably, four-armed. A sculpture from Baijnath represents Śiva seated in *lalitāsana*, wearing a *jaṭāmukuṭa, yajñopavita* and *yogapaṭṭa*, an interesting feature in this form. The deity has four arms holding a rosary in the front right hand held at the chest, a lotus in the back right, over which a snake is emerging from his *jaṭā*, a trident in the back left and embracing the goddess Umā with the front left hand. The goddess is adorned with *kuntala*-headgear and other ornaments. She is seated on the left lap of the lord with her right hand resting on the foot of the diety and the left on her knee. The Devī gazes at the god with great admiration (Fig. 19). Nandī and lion are shown below, (c. 10th century A.D.). The image partly meets the description of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[1] Similar images are also found in the Allahabad Museum (Nos. 754 and 1008). These images somewhat resemble with that of Umā-Maheśvara mūrti from Bengal[2] and Bihar.[3]

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[1] IV, 27-28.

Three sculptures from Jageshwar are interesting, as they represent Āliṅgana-Vṛishavāhana mūrti of Śiva. One of them is seated in *lalitāsana*, wearing a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *yogapaṭṭa* passing through his body and knees. The deity is four-armed carrying the same objects, as the Baijnath image. Umā and Nandī are also shown similarly, (c. 10th century A.D.). The other image from the same place shows Śiva-Pārvatī seated on Nandī in *utkuṭikāsana*. The deity is shown ithyphallic, and holds a lotus in right hand and embraces Umā with the left. She is seated on his lap, and carries a flower in the right hand and a mirror in the left, (c. 8th, 9th century A.D.). Gaṇeśa is seated below. The image agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The third image from Jageshwar is remarkable in representing Umā-Maheśvara, seated virtually on Nandī, giving a true impact to the conception of Āliṅgana-Vṛishaváhana mūrti. Śiva is seated almost cross-legged and carries a *triśūla* in the back right hand; the front right hand is resting on his thigh, and embraces Umā with the front left hand, while the last hand is broken. She is seated on the lap of the god and holds a mirror in the left hand. Her left leg is resting below, and the right one is placed on the seat. The entire theme is worked out in the fine artistic approach with plasticity and suaveness, (c. 8th, 9th century A.D.). A State Museum image (No. H. 12) shows the Lord with a trident and a snake in the back hands and embracing Pārvatī with the front left which carries a mirror. These sculptures partly meet the iconographic features of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[4]. Additional figures, such as Kārttikeya, Bhairava, Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu, Vīrabhadra, Sarasvatī, Nandī, lion and Vidyādharas are also carved. The two sculptures in the State Museum (Nos. H. 11 and 48.186) also represent this form with slight variations.

Rāvaṇānugraha Mūrti.

The story behind this form is narrated in detail by Rao[5] and Agrawala[6].

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[1] IV, 27-28.

[2] *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization.* Fig. XXXIV.

[3] *Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum* P1. VII.

[4] *Supra*. p. 28.

[5] *EHI*, pp. 217 ff.

[6] *Śiva-Mahādeva*, pp. 27-28.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a full account of the humbling of the demon by Lord Śiva.[1] Rāvaṇa was returning home after defeating Kubera and reached Śaravana where Kārttikeya was born. He climbed the hill and proceeded further to a beautiful garden on his *Pushpaka vimāna,* but the vehicle could not move further. Thence he enquired of Nandikeśvara the reason for the stoppage of his car. He was told that Śiva was sporting with Pārvatī there, and even gods were prohibited to cross that way. In a great rage he laughed scornfully at the monkey-faced Nandikeśvara, who was Śiva himself. Thereupon Śiva angrily cursed him that he would be destroyed by monkeys like himself in appearance. On being cursed, and unable to proceed further, Rāvaṇa thought of uprooting the mountain *Kailāśa,* and tried to lift it up with his several hands. The mountain shook, and Pārvatī clung to her lord out of fear. Annoyed, Śiva pressed the mountain with his toe, thus fixing it firmly. Rāvaṇa was also pinned underneath, and wept for a thousand years at his miserable plight. As advised by his counsellors, he at last appeased Śiva and sang hymns in his praise. Śiva was pleased and gave him a sword, and allowed him to return to Laṅkā. This scene is depicted in the Rāvaṇānugraha mūrti.

The earliest sculpture of the Gupta period, representing this form, is exhibited in the Mathura Museum (No. 2577)[2]. On the broken stone, the defaced figures of Śiva, Umā and Rāvaṇa have survived. Śiva's left hand is resting on the knee and the broken right was stretched in front of his chest. He is shown ithyphallic. Pārvatī is seated behind him, She seems to be clinging to her husband out of fear. The upper part of her body is bare, and the lower garment is tied with a girdle. Below Śiva, is the monstrous Rāvaṇa who is making a supreme effort to uplift the mountain with his head and hands. He is full of vigour and energy. Śiva is in placid attitude, not disturbed at all. The whole theme has been very successfully delineated.

The medieval images of this variety may be seen in a Devī temple at Hardoi, Allahabad and State Museums, and in the Bharat Kala Bhawan. In these sculptures, Śiva is generally shown seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, or on a pedestal, wearing his usual ornaments and having three eyes. He is shown four-armed. The frightened Pārvatī is seated on his lap in *lalitāsana,* beautifully adorned with her usual ornaments and finely combed hair. Rāvaṇa is invariably shown in the *ālidḥa* posture in the lowermost panel with the front three heads and six hands. He carries a sword and catches the hind leg of an animal with his right hands and holds shield in the left ; the other left one is held akimbo. He is uplifting Kailāśa with his back two hands with a supreme effort. On either side of Rāvaṇa, demons are seen helping him in shaking the hill with their hands. Additional gods, such as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Vīrabhadra, Bhairava, Sarasvatī, Nandī, Siṁha, Gandharvas and Bhūtagaṇas are also shown in the relief.

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[1] *Uttara kāṇḍa.*

[2] *JISOA,* 1937, p. 128, PL. XV, Fig. 1.

A sculpture from Hardoi represents Rāvaṇānugraha form of Śiva who wears his usual dress and ornaments. He is four-armed, holding a *triśūla* in the back right hand, and the front right is held in *abhayamudrā*, pacifying the frightened goddess. He is embracing Pārvatī with his left hand who is clinging to her husband out of fear and pacifying herself by placing her right hand on the left foot of the Lord. She carries a bull-faced child with horns (Kārttikeya) on her left lap. The child is a remarkable figure who holds a bow in the right hand and a bowl in the left. Brahmā, Vishṇu, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Vīrabhadra, Nandī and a lion are also carved. The figures of Rāvaṇa and other demons are shown as described above (c. 10th century A.D. ; Fig. 20). The image in the State Museum (No. G. 221) is almost similar except for the trident held in the back left hand of the deity. Another interesting feature of this sculpture is the *pañcha-liṅgas* carved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* over the *prabhāvali* which, probably, indicates some association with the *liṅgāyata* sect (c. 11th century A.D.). The images in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 159) and Allahabad Museum (No. 657) also similarly represent this form of Śiva, with slight variation in his attributes. He holds a lotus flower in the right hand instead of showing it in *abhayamudrā* and a trident in the left. His consort Pārvatī holds a mirror in her hand. These sculptures were found at Varanasi and Lachhagir respectively and belong to c. 10th century A.D.

Gaṅgādhara Śiva

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[1] and the *Mahābhārata*[2] relate the legend of the descend of Gaṅgā. Kapila burnt the sixty-thousand sons of the king Sagar to ashes owing to their misbehaviour while tracing their horse for sacrifice. On request Kapila told Aṁśumat, the grand-son of Sagar, that the water of Gaṅgā could purify them from their sins and they would thus be able to get their heavenly abode. Bhagīratha, the grandson of Aṁśumat, practised severe penances for the descent of the celestial Gaṅgā. She was pleased with Bhagīratha and asked who could resist the force of her fall on earth from heaven. He assured her that Śiva would be able to bear the force of her descent, and so performed severe austerities to persuade Rudra to receive Gaṅgā on his head. Śiva granted his entreaty and went to Himālaya for receiving Gaṅgā on his head. He withheld Gaṅgā on his head for a long time to humble her pride, and let her go on the repeated requests of Bhagīratha. Bhagīratha led Gaṅgā to the ashes of his ancestors, who all attained their heavenly abode by the touch of the holy river.

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[1] IX, 8, 9.

[2] *Karṇaparva*, 106-09. Adh.

According to the *Āgamas* (*Aṁśumadabheda*, *Kāmika* and *Karṇa*), Gaṅgādhara mūrti should show the standing figure of Śiva, embracing Umā with the left hand and touching her chin by the right. The back right hand should be holding a *jaṭā* on which there should be the figure of goddess Gaṅgā, and the fourth hand should carry a deer. Umā should be on his left side, standing with her right leg bent and left straight. In her left hand, there should be a flower and the right hand should be hanging down. On the left, there should be Bhagīratha in the company of ascetics praising Śiva.[1]

An image of Śiva in the State Museum (no. H. 195), although, it does not fully conform to the textual description cited above, may be identified as Gaṅgādhara Śiva. The only point which suggests the identification is the figure of the goddess Gaṅgā with *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. She is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose and holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in her left hand ; the right being held in *akimbo*. The god is standing, has matted locks, moustaches and four hands. He carries a bowl in the back right hand and a *khaṭvāṅga* in the back left ; the other two are broken. It may be quite probable that the present image was made according to a particular iconographic injunction which unfortunately is not traceable. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to c. 12th century A.D. The image almost conforms with that of Gaṅgādhara Śiva on a Tanjore temple with no female figure.[2]

Sadāśiva Mūrti

Sadāśiva is the formless, subtle, luminous, all pervading, the Supreme Being, not contaminated by any qualities (*guṇas*) and above all actions (*karmas*). It is from this Supreme Being that all else have their origin, being and end at his will. This abstruse conception of the Sadāśiva has been idolised in a material form for the benefit of devotees, and the description of this image is found in the *Āgamas* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* states that Sadāśiva with five faces should be standing on a lotus and be adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The deity should have ten arms. The right hands should hold a *śakti*, *śūla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, while the remaining hands should be held in *abhaya* and the *varada* poses. The five left hands should possess a snake, rosary, *ḍamaru*, *nīlotpala* and *mātuluṅga*[1].

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 315-17.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Pl. XXVII.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* does not mention Sadāśiva by name but it refers to the five-faced Mahādeva, whereas one of the faces is called Sadāśiva. The other faces are known as Mahādeva, Bhairava, Nandivaktra and Umāvaktra. They are all placid except the Bhairava which is fierce with a garland of skulls. All the faces except the Umāvaktra should have three eyes. The crescent moon should be on the matted locks of the north and top faces. He should be represented with ten arms carrying a rosary, trident, arrow, a staff and a lotus in his right hands, and citron, a bow, a mirror, a *kamaṇḍalu* and skin in left ones[2].

In the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 193), the deity has four faces, adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and is seated in *dhyānamudrā* in *svastikāsana*. He has eight hands, the right ones carry a *ḍamaru*, a *triśūla*, a rosary and the fourth one held in *varadamudrā*. Among the left hands, three are broken, the fourth holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. Nandī is seated below. This beautiful composition is assignable to c. 10th century A.D. Although the present sculpture does not fully agree with the textual description since it has only four heads and eight arms, it may be compared with the Sadāśiva image at Elephanta[3] which also has four faces and eight hands. Moreover, the trident and rosary in the right hand, and *kamaṇḍalu* in the left conform with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

Liṅgodbhava Mūrti

According to the *Śiva-Purāṇa*[4], Vishṇu was slumbering on the bottomless sea, when a bright illumination appeared near him whence Brahmā came out.

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[1] *EHI*, II, II, pp. 371-72.

[2] III, 44, 14-21 and 48, 1-20.

[3] *EHI*, II, II, p. 373. Banerjea has also discussed this form of Śiva with similar illustrations (*DHI*, pp. 478-79). Haridas Mitra in his article-*Sadāśiva Worship in Bengal* (*JRASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, 1933, pp. 171-254, Pl. 13-18), gives a detailed description of the deity.

[4] *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā*, 35 *Adh.*

Brahmā and Vishṇu started quarrelling, each claiming to be the creator of the universe. Thereupon a blazing cosmic *liṅga* appeared on the scene. Astonished Brahmā and Vishṇu set about discovering the top and bottom of the *liṅga* in the forms of swan and a boar respectively. But both failed and at length prayed to the cosmic *liṅga*. Śiva was pleased with their prayers and so manifested himself within the *liṅga* with a thousand arms and legs, dressed in the hide of an elephant, carrying a trident and *pināka* bow, and pacified them. This scene, depicted in the plastic art, is known as Liṅgodbhava mūrti. According to the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*, *Uttarakāmikāgama* and *Śilparatna*[1], the Liṅgodbhava image should have the figure of Chandraśekhara in the centre of the *liṅga*. Brahmā in the form of goose, and Vishṇu in the form of the Varāha should be shown on the upper and lower side of the *liṅga*. Moreover, Vishṇu on the right and Brahmā on the left should be standing before the *liṅga* with folded hands. The figure of Chandraśekhara may hold *paraśu*, and the right arm may be held in the *abhaya* pose. The colour of the figure of Śiva should be red, that of Vishṇu black and that of Brahmā golden yellow. The figure of the boar should be shown as digging into the earth. According to the *Karṇāgama* the deity should be shown with four arms, the two held in *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the remaining two holding a *paraśu* and a black duck.

The Liṅgodbhava mūrtis as found in Deccan[2], representing the figure of Śiva within the *liṅga*, manifesting the subtle god into the anthropomorphic form are not noticed in this region. However, the northern artists had a different aesthetic sense and created a form, notably where the figures of Umā-Maheśvara are seated virtually over the cosmic *liṅga* with the legs infused in it. The two sculptures of this variety found at Ashṭabujā (Mirzapur), are now exhibited in the State Museum (No. 56-420) and the Sanskrit University Museum, Varanasi (No. 58.10.). The image in the State Museum is remarkable in representing Umā-Maheśvara seated on the *liṅga* in *āliṅganamudrā*, a unique feature which has not been noticed by us so far. In the southern part of India where the Liṅgodbhava image is frequently met with, the consort of Śiva is altogether absent. He is ofcourse shown with Brahmā and Vishṇu who are supposed to measure the size of the *liṅga*. These characteristics are wanting in the present sculpture. The *liṅga* has a ribbon (*brahmasūtra*) at the top, and the deities are seated on it. Śiva, with matted locks, is four-armed and embraces his consort with the front left hand and keeps a snake in the back left hand. One of the right hands are held on the hip ; the other one raised upto the shoulder. Pārvatī is embracing the Lord with the right hand, while her left hand is broken. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The sculpture in the Sanskrit University, though badly mutilated, is similar to the above but it also shows the figures of Gaṇeśa, Vīrabhadra, a lion and Nandī.

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 107-09.

[2] Kailāśanāthasvāmin temple, Conjeevaram, *EHI*, II, I, p. 109, Pl. XIII, and Śiva Temple Ambar Māyālam, *Ibid.*, p. 110, Pl. XIV, etc.

A very interesting medieval sculpture from Etah, now deposited in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 154), needs special reference, since it is a unique composition. This image consists of a *liṅga* which is carved with the figure of Brahmā in the upper part, and Vishṇu in the lower. Brahmā and Vishṇu are seated with folded hands in submissive pose. The attitude of the two gods perfectly agrees with the *Purāṇic* story which narrates their futile attempt at searching the extremities of the *liṅga* and ultimate surrender to the supreme god Śiva. The sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D.

Saṁhāramūrti (*Tripurāntaka*)

The *Mahābhārata*[1] and the *Śiva Purāṇa*[2] relate the legend of the slaughter of three demons by Śiva. Vidyunmālī, Tārakāksha and Kamalāksha, the three sons of Tarakāsura, who performed severe austerities and obtained boons from Brahmā that they should have three castles, which should unite into one after a thousand years, and could be destroyed only with a single arrow. Maya built the three castles as they desired, and they then started troubling the gods. Indra attacked them with his *vajra* but could not defeat them. So the gods enquired of Brahmā the means of their destruction, and were told that these *asuras* could be slain only by Śiva. The gods prayed to Mahādeva and succeeded in inducing him to kill the demons. Śiva demanded half their power in order to become more powerful to which gods gladly agreed. Thus, accompanied by the gods, Śiva, then, made the *Vedas* his bow and Sāvitrī his bow-string, Brahmā his charioteer, Vishṇu his arrow and Agni its barb and Yama its feather. Therefore, with this three-barbed single arrow consisting of Soma, Agni and Vishṇu, Śiva destroyed the three *asuras* along with their castles. The images showing this scene are known as Tripurāntaka mūrti. The *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* describes eight varieties of the *Tripurāntakamūrti*. In this form Śiva should stand in *dvibhaṅga*, *tribhaṅga* or *samabhaṅga* posture, keeping one

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1. *Karṇaparva*, 24-27 *Adh.*
2. *Rudrasaṁhitā*. V, 7-12 *Adh.*

foot over the *Apashmārapurusha*. The deity should be adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *makarakuṇḍala* in the right ear, and should have three eyes. Devī should be shown at his left. Śiva may have two, four, eight or ten hands. If he has two arms, they should carry bow and arrow, if four, they may have *taṅka*, *mṛiga* in the right, and the left ones may be held in the *siṁhakarṇa* and *kartarī* poses. In case of eight-armed images the four right ones should carry an arrow, a *paraśu*, a sword and *vajra* and the left ones a bow and shield. The remaining two left hands should be shown in *vismaya* and *kāṭaka* poses, respectively. If the deity is shown with ten hands, the right hands should carry an arrow, a *chakra*, *śūla*, *taṅka* and *vajra*, and the left hands a bow, a conch, shield, the last two being shown in *vismaya* and *sūchī* posesr espectively.[1]

The images of the present variety, in the State Museum (No. H. 17) and Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 216) are executed in the medieval fashion. The deity is shown with eight arms in both the cases, and is killing the demon with his trident held by two hands. The image in the State Museum shows tiger-skin in the two upper hands. The remaining right hands carry a *ḍamaru* and a sword ; while one of the left hands holds a shield ; the other is broken. The left foot of the god rests on the head of a kneeling figure who holds an uplifted sword in one of his hands. A partial agreement lies in the fact that the deity carries a sword and a shield as described in the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*[2]. The Bharat Kala Bhawan image does not preserve any of the eight hands except the back left which holds the elephant-skin instead of tiger-skin as in the previous case. He is shown in *ālīḍha* pose, wearing a skull-garland and having *Apashmārapurusha* as his *vāhana*. These images widely vary with that of Tripurāntaka mūrti from Ellora,[3] and their identification is tentative.

Andhakāsuravadha Mūrti

The *Śivamahā-Purāṇa*[4] relates the story of Śiva subduing the demon Andhakāsura who had obtained several boons from Brahmā and had started harassing the gods. The gods ran to Śiva for help. The arrogant demon went to Kailāśa in order to abduct Pārvatī by force. Thus infuriated, Śiva got ready for the combat. Meanwhile, a demon Nīla secretly came in an elephant's form for killing Śiva. Vīrabhadra slew the demon and presented the elephant-skin a as garment to Śiva. Thus, the god ornamented with serpents and clad in this garment, along with *gaṇas*, Vishṇu and other gods, went for the combat. Vishṇu and the other gods, however, fled from the battle-field, though Śiva had wounded the enemy with arrows. Blood was gushing out of the wound, and each drop assumed the form of another Andhakāsura as it fell down. So far destroying these thousand Andhakāsuras, Śiva formed a *śakti* known as Yogeśvarī, out of the flame emerging from his mouth. Brahmā and the other gods also sent their *śaktis*, such as Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā to fulfil the task. Śiva thrust his trident into the body of the real Andhakāsura and Vishṇu and others destroyed the false ones. Thus, the demon was destroyed, and this scene is depicted in this form. A number of sculptures representing this form are exhibited in the Sarnath Museum, the Bharat Kala Bhawan, and also at Lakhamandal (Dehra Dun).

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 166-70.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-70.

[3] Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Fig. LV.

[4] *Rudrasaṁhitā*, V, 44-49 *Adh*.

A Sarnath image (No. 39) is robust, and carved with elegant and graceful contours in the medieval fashion. It is a huge composition with its awe-inspiring effect and represents, indeed, a fine specimen of its kind in the northern India. Śiva is shown here as killing the demon with supreme vigour and energy. The powerful figure of the deity is delineated through the position of the legs, the left being slightly raised and placed over the shield of the demon, who is attacking him with a sword, and the right being stretched. He is shown bare-footed, with matted locks, moustaches and beard. The deity wears a thick drapery and *ḍamaru*-shaped ear-ring in the right-lobe. He is ten-armed, holding in the right hands a sword, an arrow, a discus, a *mūsala* and piercing the demon by his trident which is held in two hands—one left and the other right. In his left hands he carries a bowl, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a bow and a shield. Yogeśvarī is also depicted with a bowl in her hand for collecting the blood drops oozing out of the body of the demon.

An image from Lakhamandal, (Dehra Dun) represents a fine piece of art with graceful contours, showing vigour and vitality in killing Andhakāsura. The deity is shown with *jaṭā-jūṭa*, ear-rings, necklaces and skull-garland. He keeps his left leg on the *Apashmārapurusha*, while the right one is stretched. He is shown with eight arms, supporting the jamb with the back two, the second right hand is raised upward ; the third one is holding a battle-axe, and with a pair of hands he is piercing a trident in the body of the demon who is shown with folded hands out of fear. The deity is caressing Yogeśvarī seated below with one of the left hands ; the other left one is shown in *sūchi* pose. *Bhūtagaṇas* are also depicted in the relief. The elegant and graceful artistic features of the present composition may date it back to c. 7th, 8th century A.D.

(Fig. 21). The eight-armed image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 172) slightly differs in details from the previous one. The deity holds a hillock, a *ḍamaru*, a trident, a sword, and a bowl in five of the hands ; the others are broken. The chief interest of this image lies in the fact that the deity is holding an elephant-skin over his head as prescribed in the canons. The deity is also accompanied by the *Bhūtagaṇas*. This sculpture is comparable to those at Elephanta and Kailāśa temple[1] (Ellora). The deity is shown with eight hands at both the places, two of which hold trident piercing into the body of the demon ; the rest carry a bowl, a *ḍamaru* and a sword, whereas the last two hands hold elephant-skin over his head ; the third hand is held in *tarjani* pose. And thus, they slightly vary with the present image.

Bhairava

The *Śiva-Purāṇa* calls Bhairava the full form (*pūrṇa rūpa*) of Śiva. He is so called because he protects (*bhāraṇa*) the universe and because he is terrific, he is also known as Kālabhairava, for even *Kāla* (the god of death) trembles before him ; *Āmarddaka*, because he kills bad persons ; and *pāpabhakshaka*, because he swallows the sins of his devotee.[2]

The *Vishṇudharmottara*[3] states that the image of Bhairava should be shown with round and tawny eyes, flabby belly, a terrible face with side tusks, wide nostrils and a garland of skulls, and should be adorned on all sides with ornaments in the form of snakes. He wears the garment of elephant-skin and has many arms with sharp nails, and bears all sorts of weapons as ornaments. Further, it says that the image in the bent sideways is of Bhairava, and on the frontal pose it represents Mahākāla. Pārvatī should occupy a position on his left. In his hand he should have a snake shown as frightening the goddess. Mātṛigaṇas and other attendants should be shown in various forms around him.

Sculptures representing Bhairava are frequently found in the various regions of the country and most of them belong to the medieval period. The deity is frequently standing in *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose, and sometimes dancing over a corpse. He wears matted locks adorned with human-skulls, necklace, a garland of skulls and other ornaments. He has a terrific face with side tusks which shows a fearful appearance.

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[1] *EHI.*, pp. 192-93, Pl. XLVII.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

[3] III, 59, 1-7.

A sculpture from Jamsot in the Allahabad Museum (No. 1004,) represents Bhairava with four arms, carrying a trident and human-head in the left hands and a bowl in the right ; the fourth hand is broken. An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 615) shows the deity with a bowl and a dagger. Nandī is seated below. Other features are similar to the image described above. Another sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 888) represents four-armed Bhairava, holding a trident in his back left hand, *ḍamaru* in the back right, *kapāla* in the front right ; the front left hand being placed akimbo. The deity is often depicted with moustaches. An image from Mahoba (Hamirpur) represents four-armed Bhairava holding a *ḍamaru*, a *kapāla*, a dagger and a severed head. *A nara-vāhana* is shown below. The image from Bhita, exhibited in the Allahabad Museum (No. 250) is interesting as it represents Bhairava in dancing posture with rhythmic movement over the back of a corpse. The deity holds a bowl in the left hand, a dagger in the right ; the other two arms are broken. His mount dog is standing near his feet. An attendant holding a bowl stands on his right. These sculptures have generally adopted the iconographic features of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[1].

Baṭuka-Bhairava

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Baṭuka-Bhairava should have flabby belly, round yellow eyes, side tusks, wide nostrils, and should be adorned with snake-ornaments and a garland of skulls. He should have eight arms, holding a *khaṭvāṅga*, noose, *śūla*, *ḍamaru*, *kapāla*, snake, a piece of flesh and the last one held in *abhayamudrā*[2]. The *Rūpamaṇḍana* states that by his side there should be a dog. The *Baṭuka-Bhairava-kalpa* informs us that the image of Baṭuka-Bhairava should have *jaṭās*, and be naked in composition surrounded by a host of demons. He should carry in his hands a *śūla*, a *pāśa*, a *ḍamaru* and a *kapāla*. and should be riding upon a dog[3].

An image in the State Museum (No. 5.14, probably Baṭuka-Bhairava) may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. on stylistic grounds. The deity is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on a pedestal with his feet wearing *pādukās* and resting on a lotus. He wears matted locks, ear-rings, *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, necklace and a *yogapaṭṭa* around his legs and the body. He has a flabby belly, round eyes, wide nostrils and three peculiar faces (the fourth one being concealed). The

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1. III, 59, 1-7.
2. III, 59, ff.
3. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 177-78.

front bearded-face with matted locks has the terrific appearance with side-tusks, but the two side faces are serene in appearance. The left one seems to be feminine in character and, probably, Umā-Vāmadeva. A halo is sculptured in the form of flames emerging from his *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The deity is eight-armed, carrying a book, a lotus, a rosary and a sword in the right hands. Of the left hands, one carries a *kamaṇḍalu* the other a noose and the rest two are broken. A human figure is lying as *nara-vāhana* under the feet of the deity. On the right side a male figure is standing with a bowl in the left hand and a sword in the right. A corresponding figure stands at the left. Vidyādharas with garland in their hands, are flying over the deity (Fig. 22). The sculpture is indeed, in wide variation with the injunctions of the canon. It has the features of Mahādeva[1] with three faces and of Baṭuka-Bhairava in having flabby belly, round tawny eyes, wide nostrils, side tusks, rosary and noose. However, the inscription on the pedestal which reads '*Oṁ Baṭukeśvaraḥ*' also suggests the identification of the deity.

Maheśa Mūrti

The *Śiva-Purāṇa* states that Maheśa mūrti is the perfect manifestation of the supreme Śiva who is the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe[2]. The *Suprabhedāgama* records that his figure should have five heads, four of which should be visible, each of these faces should possess three eyes, besides a mouth, a nose, and a pair of ears, and should be placed above a neck each. Maheśa should have two legs and ten arms ; two of which are to be held in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses ; while the remaining four right ones should keep *śūla*, *paraśu*, *vajra* and *khaḍga* ; and the remaining left ones the *kheṭaka*, *aṅkuśa pāśa* and *ghaṇṭā*. Maheśa should be adorned with all other ornaments and be clad in white garments, and Śakti should be shown beside him[3].

The sculpture at Baijnath is interesting in representing Maheśa mūrti with three faces along with their busts. The deity wears necklaces, *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, and has marked distinction in the features of these faces—the one on the proper right represents fearful face with tusks, obviously, Aghora-Bhairava and the other on the left with delicate feminine face of Umā. The central face is gentle and serene, representing Tatpurusha-Mahādeva (c. 10th century A.D.). The two medallions on Jageshwar temples show Maheśa mūrti with three faces and without busts. Both the images are similarly executed with *jaṭāmaṇḍala* and *kuṇḍalas*, and bearing the faces of Aghora-Bhairava on the left and Umā-Vāmadeva on the right. The central serene face shows Tatpurusha-Mahādeva. (c. 8th-9th century A.D.).

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[1] B.N. Sharma identifies this image with Sadāśiva (*Iconography of Sadāśiva*, pp. 6—7) but the author feels that it is of Baṭuka Bhairava.

[2] *Śatarudrīya Saṁhitā*, 1,5.

[3] *EHI*, II, II, p. 379.

The Maheśa mūrti from Nīlakantheśvara (Jhansi) is almost executed in accordance with the cannonical prescription. The deity emerges as three figures shown above the navel, with six arms, representing Aghora-Bhairava on the right, Umā-Vāmadeva on the left, and Tatpurusha-Mahādeva on the centre. These figures are shown with matted locks, studded with moon, ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, wristlets, holy-thread and a garland of a snake. The front serene figure keeps a rosary in the right hand, and a *mātuluṅga* fruit in the left, the right fearful figure holds a *ḍamaru* and *khaṭvāṅga* and the left feminine figure carries a trident and a mirror. The stereotype image may be dated back to c. 12th, 13th century A.D.

We may refer here to the famous three-faced Elephanta image which represents Maheśa mūrti with the central face of Tatpurusha-Mahādeva, the left face as that of Umā-Vāmadeva and the right of Aghora-Bhairava[1]. Our present sculptures are almost similar to this Elephanta image.

Miscellaneous Images of Śiva

There are a few more sculptures of Śiva which can not be classified with the well known forms of the deity. However, any discussion of Śiva images would remain incomplete without referring to them.

The State Museum has a fragmentary jamb (No. H. 104) from Allahabad district which contains Śiva figure standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. The deity is wearing an under-garment, *kuṇḍalas, keyūra, ekāvali, kaṭaka, mekhalā* and *yajñopavita*. He has *jaṭā-jūṭa* over the head decorated with three skulls. The third eye is shown perpendicularly on the forehead. On the right side of deity, a male figure is standing, holding the right hand of the god in his left. This figure is very interesting for its headgear which consists of three prongs resembling a trident, as such, he may be identified as the *Triśūla-purusha*. It is probably the first anthropomorphic representation of the trident of Śiva. The image may be assigned to the Gupta period.

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[1] Stella Kramrisch in *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp., 4 ff., Pl. I-VII; Banerjea thinks that it represents a composite form of Śiva with two aspects *Saumya* and *ghora*, combined with his *śakti* Umā (*DHI*, pp. 476-77).

Another image in the State Museum (No. 55. 203) from Bhitarire presents *sthānaka* Śiva in *tribhaṅga* pose with a trident in the left hand and an indistinct object in the right. The image resembles the preceding one in delicate modelling and seems to represent the cult images of the *Kāpālika* school referred to for the first time in the *Maitrāyaṇi Upanishad.*[1]

Another image in the State Museum (No. G. 208) shows the deity with a bowl in his right hand and the left one placed on the hip (c. 7th century A.D.). One more *sthānaka mūrti* in the same Museum (No. B. 337) shows Śiva with a trident in his right hand, and the left one hanging down. Gaṇeśa is also seated below (c. 10th century A.D.). A few similar sculptures are also found in the Allahabad Museum (Nos. 654 and 649) belonging to c. 11th, 12th century A.D.). The pediment in the State Museum (No. 0.74) shows only Śiva's face with *jaṭābhāra, kuṇḍalas* and three eyes. His lotus-eyes, thick lips and elongated ears indicate its date to the Gupta period. A *Chaitya*-window from the same Museum (H. 172) shows similar face of the deity belonging to the post Gupta period. The medieval slab in the Sarnath Museum (No. 624) shows different figures carved on four sides. One of the figures represents Śiva with matted locks and his usual ornaments, and holding a trident in the left hand ; the right being broken. The other side is carved with Ardhanārīśvara figure representing ithyphallus Śiva on the right-half and Pārvatī on the left. The deity stands in *tribhaṅga* pose with his head broken. The third side shows a *liṅga* with a ribbon-band at the top. The fourth side is completely lost.

NANDIKEŚVARA

The origin of Nandikesvara is found in several texts such as, *Śivamahā-Purāṇa, Liṅga-Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.* It is also referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[2] The *Mahābhārata*[3] states that Nandikeśvara is the *vāhana* of Śiva. According to the *Śivamahā-Purāṇa*[4], he was the son of the *ṛishi* Sālaṅkāyana who got him as a boon from Vishṇu. He altogether resembled Śiva and was known as Nandikeśvara. Another account of Nandikeśvara records that a *ṛishi* called Nandī practised severe austerities, and Śiva appeared before him. The *ṛishi* requested Śiva for a boon ensuring that he should have a deep admiration for, and faith in Śiva, and should also be made the head of the *gaṇas*. The request was granted, and Nandī became the chief of the *gaṇas*. The third account relates that a blind *ṛishi*, named Silāda, performed penances for obtaining an immortal son, not dorn of human beings. Indra appeared before him and directed the recluse to address his penance to Mahādeva. The *ṛishi* then directed his *tapas* to Śiva, who was pleased and promised that he would himself be born to the *ṛishi* as a son. Some time later, when Silāda was engaged in a sacrifice, a lad entered his room. The boy was a true prototype of Śiva, with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on his head, three eyes, and four arms. Śiva gave the name Nandī to the boy and disappeared.

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[1] V.S. Pathak, *Śaiva cults in Northern India*, p. 19.

[2] *Uttarakāṇḍa*, V, 17, 16.

[3] *Anuśāsana parva* CCLV, 25.

[4] *Śatarudrīya Saṁhitā*, III, 6-7 *Adh.*

The *Agni-Purāṇa* states that Nandīśa should be represented as carrying a rosary and a trident in his hands[1]. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the figure of Nandikeśvara should be depicted as having three eyes and four arms and a red complexion. He should wear tiger-skin and should hold a trident and *bhiṅḍipāla* in two of his hands ; the third should be over his head, and the fourth as though he was commanding a host of people. He should be represented as watching people from a distance[2]. Nandikeśvara is more often represented as a bull than as a bull-faced human being, or a duplicate of Śiva[3].

Sculptures representing Nandikeśvara are of two types, showing him either as a bull-faced human figure, or as a bull. There are three sculptures showing the first form at Ḍudhai (Jhansi). The deity is invariably four-armed and wears necklace, armlets, anklets, holy-thread, and in one of the sculptures a garland of skulls. In one image, Nandikeśvara stands in *samabhaṅga* pose, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* and a sword in the back and front left hands respectively, and a *ḍamaru* in the back right hand ; the last one carries an indistinct object. The second sculpture shows a bull-faced Nandikeśvara standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, and carrying a snake and rosary in the back and front right hands respectively, and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left; the last hand is broken. (Fig. 23). The third image is a huge composition of human-size and remarkable for its iconographic features. The deity has a peculiar goat-face, standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, and holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in the front left hand, two human heads in the back left hand, a dagger in the front right hand, and the last carrying some indistinct object. (Fig. 24). It is noteworthy that the goat-faced Nandikeśvara has not been known so far.[1] On the basis of style these sculptures may be dated to c. 10th century A.D. Similar sculptures are also noticed at Chandpur, Baijnath and Gopeshwar with slight variations in the iconographic features. These sculptures are in wide variations with the description of the texts.

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[1] 50, 39.

[2] III, 73, 15-17.

[3] *EHI*, II, II, pp. 455 ff.

Nandikeśvara with his consort

Two sculptures from Jamsot (Allahabad Museum No. 1024 and 1037) represent Nandikeśvara along with his consort. He is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, wearing a *dhotī* and a garland, and has a bull face. He is two-armed carrying a dagger in his right hand and embraces the goddess with the left. She wears *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, necklaces, armlets, ear-rings, and holds a fruit in her left hand and the right is thrown around the god in *āliṅganamudrā*. These sculptures show stereotyped figures, and may be assigned to c. 12th-13th century A.D.

Nandī

Nandī (bull) is the common form of depicting Nandikeśvara right from the Kushāṇa period. This is a regular feature of every Śiva temple in which he is placed in front of the god looking forward with watchful eyes. He is shown as a seated bull with serenity on his face, and wears a bell in his neck. Sometimes, a male attendant is shown with him (Chandpur), or he is all alone (Jageshwar and Gopeshwar). The sculptures representing Nandī are profusely found in this region, as always associated with Śiva, and they fully conform with the description of the iconographic texts.

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[1] J. N. Banerjea thinks that the goat-faced figure may be of Naigameya (another form of the god Skanda). DHI, pp. 363, 367. But here, probably it represents Nandikeśvara.

CHAPTER II

VISHNU

Vishṇu, the god par-excellence of the *Bhāgavatas*, is one of the supreme deities in Hindu pantheon. He is regarded as the universal protector, and his worship is immensely popular amongst the masses. It is interesting to note that this supreme deity occupied a secondary position in the *Ṛigveda*,[1] and was given such epithets as *urukrama, urugāya, trivikrama*, and one who has traversed the whole of the universe with three strides.[2] The other epithets attributed to the deity are the ancient, the protector and counted as one of the Āditvas among solar deity.[3] Vishṇu is also a friend of Indra[4].

But during the course of several centuries marked by the development of the *Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka* and *Upanishadic* literature, Vishṇu attained a supreme status in the pantheon of Hindu gods. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* identifies Vishṇu with sacrifice who is most eminent among the gods.[5] But still he was not the central figure in a theistic cult. According to the *Kaṭhopanishad*, the perfection attained was the highest place of Vishṇu (*param padaṁ*).[6]

In the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, he retains his supremacy and manifests himself as the supreme god, all powerful, all pervading and the saviour of all living beings. The *Mahābhārata*, after referring to the twelve Ādityas, declares that the last born Āditya (Vishṇu) attained the highest glory and greatness. This supreme deity is addressed as both Nārāyaṇa and Vishṇu and also identified with Vāsudeva[7].

The *Bhāgavata* movement centering around the adoration of Vishṇu by devotees, resulted in the fusion of three chief currents—the first being associated

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1. *DHI*, p. 385.
2. *Ṛigveda* 1, 22, 17; 1, 154, 1-4 ; *Atharvaveda*, VII, 26, 1-4.
3. J, Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vaishṇavism*, p. 1.
4. *Atharvaveda*, VII, 26, 6.
5. *Ibid.*, XIV, 1,1.
6. III, 9. The *Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad* (VI, 13) also takes Vishṇu as one of the supreme, gods.
7. *Bhishmaparva*, Chap. 65 and 66.

with the *Vedic* god Vishṇu, the second with Nārāyaṇa of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*, and the third with *Vāsudeva*-Kṛishṇa, a hero of the *Vṛishṇi* clan.

A brief sketch of the development of Bhāgavatism during the first two centuries of pre-Christian era and its subsequent development till the dawn of the catholic days of the Guptas, is in itself an interesting topic. Epigraphic evidence, however, is to be had from the Besnagar and Nagari inscriptions, whereas the Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa cult seems to have thrive in the regions around Mathura as attested to by the Mora Well inscription.

Bhāgavatism had considerably developed by the advent of the Gupta age. The Tusam Rock inscription of c. 4th-5th century A.D. refers to an advent of the *Sāttavata* School[2]. The *Mahābhārata* records the existence of a tribe of the *Sāttavatas*[3] which is also attested to by several *Purāṇas*[4]. Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was an important member of this tribe[5], or more accurately of the *Vṛishṇi* clan of the *Sāttavatas*.[6] In course of time the *Sāttavatas* came to regard him as the highest Brahma,[7] and evolved a system of religion around him as well as other members of his clan.[8] The *Pañcharātra* cult grew around him and his relations, with Vāsudeva as the fountain-head, along with Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha who were defied as the holy *Pañcha-Vīras* of the *Vṛishṇi* clan,[9] but Sāmba was eliminated from this list at a later stage. The theologians of the cult transformed this *Vīra* concept, shortly afterwards, into the '*Vyūha*, or emanation concept'. To this was added the '*Vibhava*, or incarnation concept'. The one god Vāsudeva-Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa could be conceived in his fivefold aspects such as '*Para*'—the Supreme, '*Vyūha*'—the emanatory, '*Vibhava*' the incarnatory, '*Antaryāmin*'—the inner controller of all beings and '*Archā*'—the image[10].

Vyūhavāda, an important tenet of the *Pañcharātra* system centres round the four principal emanations of Para-Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and

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[1] *VSMRS*, pp. 35, 49.

[2] *CII*, III, p. 269 ff.

[3] *Śalyaparva*, 21, 30 ; *Udyogaparva*, 19,1.

[4] F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 102 ff.

[5] *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, V, 17, 15 ; *Bhāgavata*, X, 58, 34.

[6] Pargiter, *Supra*, p. 107.

[7] *Bhāgavata*, IX. 9, 49.

[8] *VSMRS*, p. 12.

[9] Mora Well inscription; *Mathura Kala*, p. 5.

[10] *DHI*, pp. 386-87.

Aniruddha, all belonging to the *Sāttavata* clan. The Ghosundi[1] and the Nānāghāt inscriptions refer only to Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva which led Sircar to conclude that the *Vyūha* doctrine developed at the time of Nānāghāt inscriptions[2]. But his view is not quite acceptable to us. The *Mahābhārata* states that the *Sāttavatas* recognised one, two, three or four *Vyūhas*.[3] It may be pointed out that the worship of the other members of the *Vyūha* was not so popular as that of Bhāgavata—Vāsudeva. The number of *Vyūhas* was increased to twenty-four (*Chaturviṁśati mūrti*) by the *Pañcharātra* theologians in the Gupta period.[4] The theory of the incarnations (*Vibhavas*) of Vishṇu heralds him as the Supreme God, creator and protector of the universe as well as the moral order.[5] The earliest references to the assumption of some forms by the deity are mentioned in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*[6], where Prajāpati is said to have assumed Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha forms on different occasions. The incarnatory forms of Vishṇu in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* are variously detailed. A verse of the *Nārāyaṇīya* section has only four *avatāras* viz. Varāha, Nṛisiṁha, Vāmana and Man[7]. In another passage of the same section, Bhārgava-Rāma, Dāśarathi-Rāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa[8] are added instead of man to the aforesaid list. In another verse the incarnations are raised to ten, by adding Haṁśa, Kūrma, Matsya and Kalkin[9]. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives their number as twelve in one passage[10], and ten in another by adding first to the six mentioned above, Dattātreya, one unnamed Vedavyāsa and Kalkin.[11] The *Varāha-Purāṇa* mentions ten incarnations, including Matsya, Kūrma, Buddha and Kalkin in addition to the six noted above. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* enumerates sixteen[12], twenty-two,[13] or twenty-three[14] incarnations of Vishṇu. It can thus be safely concluded that the theory of incarnation had not developed fully before the early Gupta period.

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1. *EI*, XXII, p. 204.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 186.
3. *Śāntiparva*, 34, 57 ; 339, 72.
4. *DHI*, p. 388.
5. *Bhagavadgītā*, IV, 7-8.
6. VI, 2, 4, 2.
7. *Mbh. Śantiparva*, 349, 37.
8. *Ibid.*, 339, 77-90.
9. *Ibid.*, 339, 103-04.
10. 97, 55, 72 ff.
11. 98, 55. 63 ff.
12. IV 11.
13. III, 1.
14. VII, 2.

Numerous epigraphs refer to Vāsudeva, whose worship is at least as old as Pāṇini.[1] The Ghosundi inscription mentions the construction of an enclosure around the *Devāyatana* of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva.[2] The Besnagar inscription refers to the installation of a *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of a temple of Vāsudeva by Heliodorus.[3] The Mora Well inscription refers to the installation of a temple and images of *Vṛishṇi-Pañchavīras* in the reign of Śoḍāsa, the son of *Mahākshatrapa* Rajuvula. Excavations have exposed three broken images of *Vṛishṇi-Vīras*.[4] In this context Luders thinks that a *toraṇa* at Mathura with an inscription was an integral part of the temple as referred to in the inscription.[5]

The Udayagiri inscription with the date 82 G.E., i.e. 400 A.D., along with a four-armed image, (probably of Vishṇu) may also be referred.[6] The Bhitari Pillar inscription records the installation of an image of Sārñgin (Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa), and the grant of a village by Skandagupta.[7] Chakra Pālita, son of Parṇadatta and viceroy of Surāshtra, caused to be built a temple of Vishṇu, and the inscription refers to the deity Vāmana.[8] The Eraṇ inscription of 165 G.E., (484 A.D.) refers to the installation of a *dhvajastambha* in honour of Janārdana by Mātṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu.[9] The Iron Pillar inscription states that the *dhvajastambha* was erected by a great king named Chandra, a great devotee of Vishṇu.[10]

These literary and epigraphic data indicate that the *Bhāgavata* sect gradually gained prominence and popularity since the days of Pāṇini, and later developed into one of the five principal sects of Hinduism-viz. *Śaiva, Saura, Vaishṇava, Gāṇapatya,* and *Śākta.* It is still the most popular and dynamic in character with a large number of followers.

VISHṆU IMAGES

The deity has been represented in aniconic, theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms since the early days. The symbolic representations consist of

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1. V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 358-360.
2. *EI*, XXII, p. 204 ; *DHI*, pp. 91-92.
3. *DHI*, pp. 92-93 ; *Mathura Kala*, p. 14 ; *HIIA*, p. 34.
4. *Mathura Kala*, p. 5.
5. *DHI*, p. 95 ; *Mathura Kala*, p. 95.
6. *CII.*, III, p. 21 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 52 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, p, 56 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 88 ff.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 139. ff.

the *śālagrāmas*, fan-palm capitals discovered at Besnagar[1] and Pawaya[2], and *mīna*, *makara*, or wheel on the silver coins of Vṛishṇi Rājanya Gaṇa, and Kauluta chief Vīrayasas;[3] conch and wheel on the Basarh[4] and Bhita[5] seals. The Garuḍa column at Besnagar, probably represents the theriomorphic emblem of Vishṇu.[6]

It is strange that very few anthropomorphic representations of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu are found on the coins of pre-Christian and post-Christian period though a number of inscriptions refer to the *Bhāgavata* shrines of this period. On one coin of Vishṇumitra, the figure of the deity is represented with a disc in one of his upper left hand.[7] It may be dated in c.lst century B.C.

The earliest sculpture representing Vishṇu in the anthropomorphic form belongs to the Kushāṇa period.[8] The artistic approach is somewhat crude with less ornamentation. A number of statuettes of the deity are found round about Mathura which was the centre of Vāsudeva-worship since very early times. The deity is shown with four or eight arms, frequently seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose on a cushion, or standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. The eight-armed Vishṇu-two images in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 1010 and 50.3552) and one in the State Museum (No. 49·247) are assigned to the Kushāṇa age. The two previous images have been identified as *Virāṭarūpa* of Vishṇu.[9] The first image (No. 1010) carries a rock like object, a sword and a cluster of arrows in the right hands, while the fourth one is bent and placed in front of the chest. The remaining hands are broken. The second Mathura image represents Vishṇu standing with his left foot bent and the right firmly planted, with identical attributes in his right hands, in addition to the conch in one of the extant left hands. The first image wears a typical head-gear, a thick *vanamālā* and other ornaments. The image in the State Museum is similarly eight-armed, holding in right ones, a bunch of arrows, indistinct objects in the other two hands and the fourth right hand is placed on the chest. The left hands and the portion below the waist are completely lost. The deity almost resembles the Mathura figures, and may be assigned to the Kushāṇa period. These images somewhat resemble with that of eight-armed Vishṇu from Conjeevaram.[1]

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[1] *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 188-91, Pl. LIII-LIV.

[2] ASIAR, 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 21, Pl. XVI-c.

[3] Cunningham and Allan described the symbol as *dharmachakra* but Banerjea suggests it to be the *Sudarśanachakra*. (*DHI*, pp. 131-32).

[4] T. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 110-1, Pl. XL, 3.

[5] Marshall, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 53, Pl. XIX.

[6] *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 211.

[7] *DHI*, pp. 129-130 ; Cunningham *CAI*, p. 84, Pl. VII, 21 ; J. Allan, *Op. cit.* pp. CXIX, 202, Pl. XXIX, 6-9. D.C. Sircar suggests that Vishṇu appears on some coins of the Kushāṇa ruler (*Age of Imperial Unity*. p. 439) but J.N. Banerjea discarded it. (*DHI*, pp. 130-31).

[8] Venkataramaiyya states that the earliest image of Vishṇu found in Andhra Pradesh, belongs to the Śuṅga period but this is doubtful.

[9] K.D. Bajpai, *Two Rare Images of Vishṇu from Mathura*, *JUPHS*, II, new series, pt. II, pp. 17 ff. Pl. V ; *CBIMA*, p. 5. But this designation does not appear to be appropriate since we do not find this name for the eight-armed deity in the iconographic texts.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[2] and the *Agni-Purāṇa*[3] mention the eight-armed figure of Vishṇu with similar attributes in his hands. The deity should carry a sword, a club, an arrow in the three right hands, the fourth should be shown in *śāntidātā* (*abhaya*) pose. In his left hands, he should wield a bow, a shield, a discus and a conch. The present images partly agree with this description.

Two-armed images of Vishṇu are rarely found in the Kushāṇa period. One is from Rupabas (Agra),[4] identified as two-armed Vishṇu with a discus.[5] The second mutilated image is from Mathura Museum (No. 950). The deity wears a crown and *vanamālā*, and holds a conch in the left hand. The third image is from Rajasthan holding a mace and discus in hands. The four-armed figure was the common type of Vishṇu image in the Kushāṇa period. The deity is standing with his front right hand raised in the *abhayamudrā*, the back right hand holds a long tapering mace, the front left hand a conch and the back left a discus. The image in the State Museum (No. J. 610) is shown in the *varadamudrā*, instead of the *abhaya* pose.

The conch is held by the deity in several ways. The object is similar to the flask[6] which was presumed as *amṛitaghaṭa* by the scholars.[7] The *amṛitaghaṭa* is usually associated with Maitreya and Nāga figures which led scholars to presume that the Vishṇu image evolved from that of the Bodhisattva.[8] In the second case the object is shown like the purse of Kubera[9] which, however, further evolved in the form of a sweet ball.[1] Moreover, in the late-Kushāṇa period the conch was held in the hand of Vishṇu by fingers.[2]

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[1] H. Krishna Shastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 18, Fig. 11. A terracotta plaque of the Gupta period from Bhitargaon represents eight-armed Vishṇu (S.D. & S.B. Singh, *The Archaeology of the Lucknow Region* p. 37, Pl. X).

[2] LVIII, 33. The *Harivaṁśa* also mentions eight-armed Vishṇu as an incarnation. *Harivaṁśaparva*, XXIV, 22-23,*Vishṇuparva*, IIIL-23.

[3] XL, 16-17.

[4] *ASI*, VI, p. 20-

[5] *DHI*, p. 401.

[6] Mathura Nos. 933, 912 and 2520.

[7] Diskalkar, *JUPHS*, V, I, p. 22 ; *CBIMA*, p. 4.

[8] V.S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 105-06 ; *Mathura Kala*, p. 59.

[9] Mathura Nos. 15.613 and 18.1506.

The mace is carried in two ways by the deity. His arm is hidden behind the mace with the palm placed at the top,[3] or the hand encircles it so as to keep it erect.[4] Icons of the deity are shown seated in *lalitāsana*, either on a lotus[5] or riding on Garuḍa.[6] The *padmāsana* mūrti shows Vishṇu with a conch in the front left hand, a discus in the back left (partly broken), a mace in the back right and the fourth is held in the *abhaya* pose. The image belongs to the late Kushāṇa period. The Garuḍāsana mūrti is shown seated on Garuḍa with similar attributes.

In all these statuettes, the deity is represented with all the typical ornaments which are found on the Bodhisattva statues.[7] The foliated crown is simple in design and slightly tilted to the back. The neck-ornament consists of *hāra*, thicker in band with a gem in the centre. The deity also wears ear-pendants, a torque, armlets, wristlets, drapery consisting of a *dhotī* and a scarf wound as girdle.[8]

These statuettes generally tally with the description of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[9] which states that the image of Vishṇu should have either eight, four or only two arms, adorned with *Kaustubha-maṇi* and *Śrīvatsa* mark, and should have a serene face, plump neck, breast, shoulders and arms, and wears a *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and ear-rings. If the image has four arms, one of the right hands should be in *abhaya* or *varada* pose and the other holds a mace, and the left hands should be portrayed with conch and discus. The eight-armed *Garuḍāsana* image of Vishṇu is mentioned in the *Agni-Purāṇa.*[10] The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[11] and the *Mahābhārata*[12] also describe Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as seated on Garuḍa. The *Garuḍāsana* image of the god partly agrees with the above texts.

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1. Mathura Nos. 956, 1158 ; State Museum No. J.610.
2. Mathura No. 2858.
3. Mathura No. 4. 35 ; State Museum No. J. 610.
4. Mathura No. 34.2487.
5. Mathura No. 2858.
6. Mathura No. 56. 4200.
7. V.S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 105.
8. Mathura No. 2487.
9. LVIII, 31-35.
10. IL, 16-17.
11. 6, 4, 36-38.
12. *Droṇaparva*, 11, 22.

An image in the Mathura Museum (No.14.392-95) is unique in representing Vishṇu-Vāsudeva with Saṁkarshaṇa-Balarāma. V. S. Agrawala identified this image as *Pañchendra.*[1] This identification is ruled out on the ground of the composition of the image which has only four figures and not five, and moreover, the central figure with four arms has the usual attributes of Vishṇu. He holds a mace in his back right hand (the top portion is extant with the fingers of the deity placed on it), while the front one is held in *abhayamudrā*. In the front left hand he carries a conch, while the fourth hand is broken. The neck-ornament consists of a garland of flowers and leaves. From his right side emanates the figure of Saṁkarshaṇa who holds a cup in his left hand while the right is broken. Another badly mutilated figure is seen over the head of Vāsudeva above his back. Probably, there was another figure on the left shoulder of Vishṇu, which is completely lost. (c. 2nd, 3rd cen. A.D ; Fig. 25). It may be pointed out that the image represents the *Vyūha* members of Vāsudeva family, as referred to in the *Pañcharātrik-Saṁhitās.* But this identification is tentative, because of the meagre artistic features available in the broken sculpture. The sculpture partly tallies with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara* which mentions similar four-faced and eight-armed image of the deity, representing Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha[2]. They should carry discus and mace, *mūsala* and plough, bow and arrow, and shield and sword, respectively. The present image of Vāsudeva is four-armed, and moreover, Saṁkarshaṇa holds a cup in his hand which differs from the text.[3]

In the Gupta age, the image of Vishṇu represents the highest attainment of the plastic art and produces cosmic impression with its sublime beauty. The image is delicately worked out in the round with exuberant plasticity and suppleness, imbued with spiritual consciousness. The sensitive rendering of volumes with three dimensional approach produces naturalism on the oval face, imbued with peace, serenity and bliss. The lotus-shaped eyes seem to be half-closed as in deep meditation. The nose resembles the beak of a parrot, and the neck-a conch-shell, the torso is broad in the uppar part and attentuated in the lower, the shoulders are in the form of elephant's head, the lips are thick and the ears are elongated, all being treated in natural and artistic fashion.

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[1] *Indian Art*, p. 259.

[2] III, 47, 8-9.

[3] The image was first identified by Dr. S.N. Chaturvedi in his Ph. D. Thesis '*Gupta Sculptures in U.P. Museums.*'

An image in the Allahabad Museum (No.952) from Jhusi represents Vishṇu with the conch in the front left hand, discus in the back left, mace in the back right and a fruit in the front right hand. The fruit is very interesting in the hand of the deity. It is almost similar to a round cake and heralds a new tradition in the image of Vishṇu. The deity has a crown with *prabhāvali*, and the mace resembles with that in the Mathura image (No.512), and as such, it may be assigned to c. 5th century A.D. (Fig.26). The second remarkable image in the same Museum (No. 857) shows the deity with an *āyudhapurusha*. In the lower left hand, he holds a discus placed over a standing male figure, identified as *chakrapurusha*. Another image (No. 440) is carved in the same fashion with mace and discus placed in the upper hands raised to the level of the shoulders. An image from this region in the National Museum (No. E 62/424, Fig. 27) represents the deity with all hands broken.

In the Bharat Kala Bhawan, two images (No. 20903 and 171) represent the bust and head of Vishṇu, respectively, with *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, and may be placed in c. 4th-5th century A.D.

The Vishṇu images in the Mathura Museum are either standing or seated. He holds a mace in the back right hand[1] and discus in the back left hand,[2] conch in the front left hand[3] and the fourth one is held in *abhayamudrā*[4]. The *kaumodakī* and *chakrapurusha* are also shown in his front hands[5]. In one case the deity carries a mace and a *chakra* in the two hands and the other two are placed on the heads of the kneeling figures[6].

The seated images of Vishṇu in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 15.512 and KT. 191) are in *lalitāsana* pose in the former case and in squatting posture in the latter. He holds a mace in the back right hand, a discus in the back left, a conch in the front left and the front right is held in *abhayamudrā*. The deity wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-pendants, *ekāvalī* and armlets. A plain halo surrounds his head. The image appears to be of c.5th century A.D. The *lalitāsana* image in the Allahabad Museum (No.440) is almost identical to that of Mathura (No. 512);

An image in the State Museum (No. H. 111) from Kankali mound,

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[1] Mathura Nos. 836, 2486, D2, G7, 512, KT 191.

[2] Mathura Nos. 836, 2486, 512, KT 141.

[3] Mathura Nos. D2, 984, 512.

[4] Mathura No. 512.

[5] Mathura No. KT 191.

[6] Mathura No. 836.

Mathura, is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing *patra-kuṇḍala*,, *Vaijayantī mālā, ekāvalī* and *yajñopavīta*. The halo behind the head is elaborate with concentric bands. Only one hand is extant with conch ; the other three are broken. The image exuberates naturalism and delicacy, and may be assigned to c.5th, 6th, century A.D. (Fig. 28) Another image in the same Museum (No. H. 110) is almost similar as the previous one, and belongs to the same period. These images are remarkable in showing *vanamālā*[1] which was introduced in the iconography of Vishṇu during the Kushāṇa period.

The Gupta images of Vishṇu partly tally with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*,[2] which states that the image of Vishṇu should be one-faced, holding discus and mace in his two hands. In another verse it records that the image of Vāsudeva should be four-armed, beautifully executed, having conchshell-neck, slim body with long arms and slender fingers with copper-colour nails. The deity should wear a *Kirīṭamukuṭa, vanamālā, aṅgada, keyūra, Kaustubhamaṇi, kaṭi-vastra, yajñopavīta* and lotus-shaped halo. He should carry a full bloomed lotus in his right hand and a conch in the left. On his right the *gadādevī* and on the left *chakrapurusha* should be beautifully executed. The deity should place his two hands on their heads. The Mathura images (Nos. KT. 191, 440, 857) conform this description with minor variations. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* states that the four-armed Vishṇu should carry mace and lotus in the right hands and conch and discus in left ones.[3] The Allahabad image (No. 952) and the Mathura images (Nos. 836, 2486, 512, 984 and D2) partly tally with this text.

In the later Gupta period the art was wanting in sublime ideas in the sculptor, who, more or less, was following the rules of canons for modelling sculptures. Notwithstanding, sculptures were still representing naturality and freshness in their modus-operandi. The artist gives a proportionate contour to each part of limbs, producing a slim body. The face is still oval but proceeding to a circular treatment. The preceding lotus-shaped eyes are, somewhat, bulging or roundish in shape and cannot be compared to that of the earlier period. The nose is shorter, the lips are less thicker, the ears are not so elongated, and finally, the mark of chin appears on the face. The peace, serenity and the meditative face of the Gupta image producing cosmic sensation, are lacking in the icons of this period.

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[1] *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 47, 3 ; 85, 4.

[2] III, 60, 2 ; 85, 1-15.

[3] 258, 4-15.

The later Gupta image of Vishṇu from Deogarh, belonging to c. 7th century A.D. on stylistic ground, represents a fine piece of sculpture with slight deterioration in art. It is a *sthānaka* image of Vishṇu in *samabhaṅga* pose (the portion below knees is lost) wearing fine drapery, *Kirīṭamukuṭa, vanamālā, hāra, kaṅkaṇa* and *keyūra.* A halo with diminishing size and crude ornamentation surrounds his head. The deity carries a conch in the left hand and the front right hand is held in *abhayamudrā.* The other two hands are broken. The image partly agrees with the description of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*[1] An image in the State Museum (No. H. 163) is a remarkable torso of a male deity, surmised by R.D. Banerjee as that of Vishṇu[2]. The torso is beautifully executed with plastic conception and wears waistband, necklace, *Śrīvatsa* mark and *yajñopavīta.* The head, feet and the arms are broken. The sculpture came from Mathura, and may be assigned to c. 8th century A.D. However, it is doubtful whether the image represents Vishṇu, as no positive proof is available to confirm this view.

In the medieval period the art was stagnant due to loosing sublimeness and originality in thinking. The plastic conception is loosing ground along with a growing linear sharpness. These two lead to a gradual disintegration of the form. The artist is adhering to the strict rules of the canon following it in all details. More ornamentation is one of the necessary component of the image. The image is still proportionate with more conventionalized and stiff treatment. The face is circular or broad with longer nose, thinner lips, extended or bulging eyes and prominent chin. Moreover, this stylization continues in c. 11th -12th century A.D., giving rise to stiffness and formal appearance in the images. The stereotyped figures have no creative thinking to supplement new ideas, and as such, disproportionate figures are frequently met with by the end of 12th and 13th century A.D.

Apart from the above images, another classification of Vishṇu images can be made in the following order.

1. Simple Form of Vishṇu
2. Daśāvatāra
3. Chaturviṁśati Mūrtis
4. Minor Avatāra and manifestations of Vishṇu
5. Garuḍa and Āyudhapurushas

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 53.

[2] *State Museum Catalogue.*

1. SIMPLE FORM OF VISHṆU

The medieval images of the deity are sub-divided according to their standing, sitting and reclining position, as *sthānaka-mūrti*, *āsana-mūrti* and *śayana-mūrti*, respectively. Their further divisions are *yoga*, *bhoga*, *vīra* and *abhichārika*, each with *uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama* varieties. These varieties are to be worshipped by devotees with different objects in view, *yogī* should worship the *yoga* form of Vishṇu, those who desire enjoyment should worship the *bhoga* form, the prowess desirous the *vīra* form, and those who want to conquer their enemies the *abhichārika* form.[1]

Yogasthānaka Mūrti

The *yogasthānaka* Vishṇu should be the standing figure in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing usual dress and ornaments, having four hands, holding in the back left hand a conch and the back right a discus, the front left hand should be held akimbo and the front right hand in *varada* or *abhaya* pose. *Ṛishis* Bhṛigu and Mārkaṇḍeya should be kneeling on either side of Vishṇu, or the goddess Bhūdevī and Mārkaṇḍeya should be shown on either side.[2]

A delicately executed image of Vishṇu in the State Museum (No. 0.199)[3] is partly in accordance with the above description. The sculpture was brought from Seor (Sultanpur), and belongs to the Pāla School of art. The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus wearing high crown with *kīrtimukhas* and *makaras*, beaded-necklace, ear-rings, *vanamālā*, armlets, *yajñopavīta* and fine lower garment. He has four hands holding conch and discus in the front and back left hands, mace in the back right hand, and the front right hand is shown in *abhaya* pose. Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūdevī (?) are seated near the feet of the Lord with folded hand (c. 9th century A.D.). Another mutilated image of the deity in the same Museum (No. 56. 398) with mace and lotus may belong to this group with a greater degree of variations (medieval period). In this context, it is to be pointed out that though these images are designated as *yogasthānaka mūrti*, yet it can not be ascertained with all definiteness, lacking other artistic features.

Bhogasthānaka Mūrti

This form also represents the standing image of Vishṇu having four arms, carrying discus and conch in back two hands; the front right hand being held in *varada* or *abhaya* pose while the front left is kept on the hip or in *kaṭaka* pose. The figure of Śrīdevī should stand on the right side of Vishṇu with her right leg placed firmly on the ground and the left slightly bent. The right arm of the goddess should have lotus and the left one may be hanging beside. On the left of Vishṇu the image of Bhūdevī, carrying a blue water-lily in her left hand and the right one hanging beside, should be shown. Bhṛigu and Mārkaṇḍeya are similarly shown. The other deities should also be carved.[1]

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[1] *EHI*, I, I. pp. 78-79.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, I, pp. 80-81.
[3] *HIIA*, p. 110, Fig. 222.

The *bhogasthānaka* images of Vishṇu are profusely found in the medieval period in the various parts of this region. An image from Burhagaon, district Jhansi, represents a typical example of this form of Vishṇu.The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus, wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa,* ear-pendants, necklace, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavita.* He holds a conch and a discus in the front and back left hands, a mace in the back right hand, and the fourth hand is held in the *varada* pose. However, it is noteworthy that the front left hand of Vishṇu is never shown in *kaṭyāvalambita* or *kaṭaka* pose in this region, as prescribed in the Āgamas. A beautiful halo with checkered design is shown on the back of his head. On his right *chakrapurusha* is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. The kneeling figures of Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhṛigu are also shown. Śrī is shown on the left side of the deity, and Pushṭi on the right. The sculpture may be assigned to c. 12th century A.D., and it corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[2] (Fig. 29). The image from Devanagala, district Lucknow represents a similar *bhogasthānaka* form of Vishṇu with identical features except the figures of Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhṛigu and Pushṭi. A sculpture in the State Museum (No. 45. 81) is almost similar to those at Burhagaon with addition of further deities, such as Brahmā, Śiva, Lakshmī, Tumburu and Nārada, etc. Another image in the same Museum (No. H. 108) from Khukhundha, Gorakhpur, represents this form of Vishṇu, with broken hands. Lakshmī, Bhūdevī, Mārkaṇḍeya, the Buddha, Kalki and Śiva are the additional deities carved in relief. It is interesting to note that *āyudhapurushas* are not shown in this image. The image partly meets the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[3].

The *uttama* variety of the *bhogasthānaka* image of Vishṇu in the State Museum (No. H. 107)[4] belongs to the Pāla school of art. The head and hands of the deity are lost ; only the mace and the lotus-stalk are extant. Lakshmī, Pushṭi, Kūrma, Varāha, Matsya, Kalki, Balarāma and the Buddha are shown in the relief. Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūdevī are kneeling before the god. Garuḍa is also shown on the pedestal. Another sculpture (State Museum No. 0.275) shows identical image of Vishṇu as that of No. H. 107. A Vishṇu image in the Allahabad Museum (No. 410) is almost similar to that of Burhagaon.

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 81-83.
[2] III, 85, 1-15.
[3] 258. 4-15.
[4] *ASR*, I, p. 89.

The Mathura image (No. D. 21) represents *bhogasthānaka* Vishṇu with remarkable figures of Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, along with Daśāvatāra at the top panel. Another image in the same Museum (No. D. 23) shows this form of Vishṇu with *śaṁkha* and *chakrapurushas.* The other *bhogasthānaka* images are exhibited in the State Museum (Nos. S. 15 ; 45. 48 ; 45. 80 and H. 106)[1]. A sculpture in the State Museum (No. 42. 189) is interesting from the iconographic point of view. It shows the deity in the *bhogasthānaka* form with a rare depiction of *sāgara-maṅthana* scene. The figure of Vishṇu is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus, wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, a halo, necklace, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, anklets, girdle and holy-thread. Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhṛigu and Lakshmī are shown as in Burhagaon image. The topmost panel shows the *sāgara-maṅthana* scene, which is being carried out by gods and demons with the help of Vasuki and Kachchhapa. Matsya, Varāha, Vāmana, Kūrma, Nṛisiṁha, Balarāma and Kalki incarnations are also shown in the relief. Similar Vishṇu image found in this region is now deposited in the British Museum (No. 41). The four-armed deity is almost identical ; the ten incarnations are shown similarly, and the churning-ocean scene is depicted in the same manner as in the above relief.[2]

Another image in the State Museum (No. H. 109) showns *bhogasthānaka* Vishṇu with *śaṁkha* and *chakrapurushas* standing beside him. Lakshmī is standing with a lotus in her hand. The figures are stereotyped and conventionalized. On the basis of style these sculptures may be assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D.

The *sthānaka* images of the deity of *vira* and *abhichārika* varieties are not noticed in this region.

The *āsana mūrties* of VIshṇu as found in this particular part of the country can be classified in the following order.

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[1] *ASR*, I, p. 89.

[2] R.P. Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 44.

1. Yogāsana
2. Bhogāsana
3. Garuḍāsana
4. Śeshāsana

Yogāsana Mūrti

This is a seated figure of Vishṇu with four arms, the front two of which are held in the *yogamudrā*. His *āsana* should be *brahmāsana* or *padmāsana*. The deity should wear *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, holy-thread, and his eyes should be slightly closed. The other gods may also be represented. According to *Siddhārtha-Saṁhitā* as quoted by *Vāchaspatya-Kośa*, Vishṇu should be seated upon *padmāsana*. The back two hands should carry conch and discus, while lotus and a big mace should be carved on either side. The front two hands are held usually[1].

The Mathura Museum has a few sculptures, representing the four-armed *yogāsana mūrti* of Vishṇu. The deity (No. D. 37) is seated cross-legged on a lotus seat with the front two hands placed upon his lap in *yogamudrā*, and the back left and right hands hold a discus and a mace, respectively. He has long locks and wears a high elaborately carved tiara, ear-pendants, a double necklace, *Kaustubha, yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā* hanging down on his lotus seat. Below the seat is a group of miniature figures, such as Bhūdevī, Nāgas and kneeling male and female figures. On the extreme proper right and left are the *śaṁkha* and *chakrapurushas*, respectively. Lakshmī, Pushṭi, Brahmā, Śiva and Vidyādharas are also shown in the relief. The sculpture can be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The image partially agrees with the description of the *Āgamas*. A somewhat similar image of *yogāsana* Vishṇu is found at Garhwa, fort, Allahabad, (Fig. 30).

The other images representing *yogāsana* form of Vishṇu are exhibited in the same Museum. The image No. 379 is remarkable in representing the deity with similar attributes in his back hands along with the lotus carried in the palm of the *dhyānamudrā* hand while the conch is placed below his lotus seat. This feature concords to *Siddhāratha-Saṁhitā* with slight variation. The other Mathura images (Nos. 1684 and 1994) are almost similar to the above sculptures. These images are almost identical with that of *yogāsana* Vishṇu from Huvinahadagalli.[2]

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 85-87.

[2] H.K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 58, Fig. 37.

Bhogāsana Mūrti

In the *bhogāsana mūrti*, Vishṇu is seated on a throne with his consorts Lakshmī and Bhūmidevī on the right and left, respectively. The deity should have four arms, holding discus in the back right, conch in the back left; the front right being held in *varada* or *abhaya* pose and the front left in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose. Lakshmī carrying lotus and Bhūmidevī *nīlotpala*, should be seated in *lalitāsana*. The other gods may also be represented.[1]

A few sculptures of this variety are described here which do not fully conform with the description of the text. The figures of Lakshmī and Bhūmidevī are not shown with the deity but the general features of these images may suggest them to this group. An image in the Mathura Museum (No. 2858) shows Vishṇu seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, wearing a foliated crown, necklace, *kaustubha*, armlets, anklets and holy-thread. He holds a discus in the frotn left hand while the other one is broken ; a mace is held in the back right hand and the fourth hand is held in *varada* pose. No other figures are associated with the deity. The image may be assigned to the late Kushāṇa period. A sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 440) represents Vishṇu seated in *lalitāsana* on a cushion, wearing his usual ornaments, and holding a lotus-bud in the front right, a mace in the back right, a discus in the left hands and the fourth arm is broken. The sculpture is brought from Bhita, and may be assigned to the early Gupta period. The third image in the Mathura Museum (No. 512) shows the deity seated in *lalitāsana*. He holds a mace, discus and conch in the three hands and the fourth one is held in *abhayamudrā*. A female figure is standing before the god, who may be identified as Bhūdevī.[2] However, if this identification is taken into account, the image definitely represents the *bhogāsana mūrti* of Vishṇu as described in the texts.

Garuḍāsana Mūrti

The *Agni-Purāṇa* states that Vishṇu should be seated on Garuḍa and have eight hands. He should carry in the three right hands-a sword, a mace and arrows, and the fourth hand should be held in *varada* pose. In the left hands, he should hold a bow, shield, discus and a conch.[3] The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* prescribes that the image of Vishṇu should be seated over Garuḍa and have eight arms, holding a discus. conch, sword, shield, arrow, bow, noose and mace. He should wear yellow garments, *vanamālā*. *Śrīvatsa*, *Kaustubha*, *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *makara-kuṇḍala*, *valaya*, *nūpura* and *aṅgada*.[1] In the *Śilpasāra*, Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa image is described as seated on Garuḍa, carrying arrow, bow, conch and discus.

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, p. 90 ff.

[2] The *Matsya Purāṇa* states (258, 4-15) that Bhūdevī should be carved in between the feet of the Lord.

[3] 49, 16-17.

The Garuḍāsana mūrti of Vishṇu can be classified in two groups. In the first mode of representation, the deity is seated alone on Garuḍa. In the second variety, he is shown as seated on the mount along with Lakshmī. This latter form will be described along with Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa images. Here the first type of representation is taken into account.

A medallion in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 631) represents Vishṇu seated on the Garuḍa. He wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-rings, neck-ornament, *Vaijayantī mālā*, holy-thread and his usual garments. He has four hands, all of which are broken. A female attendant is standing on either side. On the basis of style the medallion may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. A four-armed stereotyped image of Vishṇu in the Allahabad Museum (No. 413) is seated on Garuḍa with the both legs hanging down. He wears his usual ornaments. The sculpture can be placed in c. 12th century A.D. on the basis of style. These images almost resemble with the description of *Śilpaśara*.

Śeshāsana

A unique piece of art from Deogarh Gupta temple represents god Vishṇu (Fig. 31). seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* over Śeshanāga coiled in four folds like a cushion and canopying the deity with his seven hoods. The deity wears a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas ekāvali*, *aṅgada*, *kaṅkaṇa* and *vanamālā*. He holds a discus and conch in the back right and left hands ; another left is placed on the thigh, while the right one is raised in *abhaya*, pose. Seated lakshmī is shampooing the foot of the god with her hands. Beside her, a man-lion deity stands with folded hands. On the left recessed corner a dwarfish figure stands with a bow in his left hand ; the right arm is raised in the praise of the lord. On either side Vidyādharas are flying with a garland in their hands. The entire theme represents a beautiful piece of art of the Gupta age.

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[1] 6, 4, 36-38.

Śayana Mūrti

This form of Vishṇu is to be assumed by the deity within the sea at the end of the great deluge of universal dissolution.[1]

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the *Śayanamūrti* is described by the name of Padmanābha. It states that Padmanābha lies on Śeshanāga within the deep sea. One of the feet of the deity should be upheld by Lakshmī and the other one should be stretched over the serpent. He should carry *santāna-mañjarī* in one of his hands, the second should be supporting the head, the third should be placed over the navel and the fourth should be resting on the knee. Brahmā is to be seated on the lotus issuing from his navel, and near this lotus-stalk there should be Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The *āyudhapurushas* are to be shown near the serpent-bed.[2] The *Padma-Purāṇa* has also somewhat similar description of *Padmanābha.*[3]

The *Aparājitapṛichchha* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* describe the deity by the name of Jalaśayin. According to the *Aparājitapṛichchha*, Vishṇu should be wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *vanamālā*, necklace, ear-rings and armlets and should be lying on *Śesha-paryaṅka*. He should carry a discus and mace in the upper and lower left hands, respectively. One of the right hands should be supporting his head and the other one resting on the chest. His head should be canopied by seven hooded Śesha. Near the feet of the Lord there should be Lakshmī and Garuḍa, while on the lotus issuing from his navel there should be Brahmā. The *Daśāvatāra* and other deities should also be sculptured.[4] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* gives somewhat similar description of the Jalaśayin.[5]

The Jalaśayin image of Vishṇu was first sculptured in the Gupta period at Deogarh and Bhitargaon.[6] The Anantaśayin panel on the Gupta temple at Deogarh is carved with plastic conception of the Golden Age, illuminating all the figures with a calm-spiritual expression and transforming them above the level of the mere physical existence. The god is lying with slightly raised body over the vertical strokes of seven hooded Ādiśesha who has canopied him. His head is supported with his front left hand, the other left one is resting over the serpent-bed. The front right hand is held over the right knee and the back right one is raised, probably holding *Santāna-mañjarī*[1]. The left leg is stretched, while the right slightly bent is held by Lakshmī. He wears a beautiful tiara with a central gem, ear-pendants, *ekāvali. vanamālā*, armlets, anklets and fine drapery. His locks of hair are shown scattered over his shoulders. Lakshmī wearing *kuntala* head-gear and other ornaments, is sitting near his feet shampooing the right leg of the Lord with her two hands.[2] Beside her, a male figure wearing coiled hair in *jaṭā* fashion is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose. A snake coils his neck and is being caught by the left hand of the deity. Beside him a female atendant is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with a staff in her right hand. The male figure, probably represents Śiva.[3] The four-faced Brahmā is seated on a lotus-stalk issuing from the background. However, this is an interesting point that the stalk does not emerge from the navel of the deity as described in the texts. The lowermost panel represents Madhu with a sword and Kaiṭabha with broken hands ready for the combat with another male figure unsheathing his sword, beside whom other two male and one female figures are carved. These figures represent *āyudhapurushas* but their identification cannot be ascertained except of *Kaumodaki*. The figures of Umā-Maheśvara, Indra Kārttikeya and Vidyādhara are also carved in the panel. The panel is almost treated in accordance with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[4]

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*, 347, 19 ff.

[2] III, 81, 2-8.

[3] B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, I, p. 6.

[4] 219, 1-9.

[5] 3, 29-30.

[6] *Terracotta image of Anantaśayin*, *ASI*, XI, p. 45, Pl. XVII.

The later Gupta sculpture over the hill at Deogarh is an exact prototype of the Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu, described above. Vishṇu on Ādiśesha, Lakshmī, Śiva, a female attendant, a Vidyādhara, Umā-Maheśvara, Brahmā, Indra and Kārttikeya are shown as in the previous panel. The difference lies in its stylization and lesser artistic approach. The mechanical repetition leads to a position which becomes formal and artificial, The soft and sensitively modelled form in the previous panel has given way to general heaviness of form coupled with a coarseness of the treatment. The plastic conception is paving way to growing linear sharpness, and the spiritual abstraction is wanting in the entire theme. The panel may be assigned to c-7th-8th century A. D. Another Jalaśayin Vishṇu from Deogarh is also carved with the deity lying over Adiśesha with his usual ornaments. Lakshmī is holding his feet, and Brahmā is seated over the lotus-stalk issuing from his navel. Madhu, Kaiṭabha and *āyudhapurushas* are also shown. The sculpture represents the same artistic activity, and can be placed in c.7th, 8th century A.D. The other sculptures of this period are exhibited in Mathura Museum (Nos. 1285[1] and 1503)[2], showing almost similar Jalaśayin-Vishṇu.

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[1] Rao thinks that it is held in *kaṭaka* pose which does not seem to be true, *EHI*, I, I, p. 110.

[2] *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII, 6.

[3] These figures are being identified as those of *Gadā-devī* and *Dhanushapurusha* by Rao (*EHI*, I, I, p. 111) but they seem to be of Śiva and a female attendant on the ground of a snake in the hand of the male figure, and a staff with the lady.

[4] III, 81, 2-8.

The medieval images of Jalaśayin Vishṇu are more conventionalized and stylized. An image from Katarmal, Almora, shows Vishṇu lying on Śesha with his head supported on the back right hand. He wears his usual ornaments and carries a mace in the front right hand, a conch in the front left and a discus in the back left. Lakshmī is shampooing his right leg. Madhu and Kaiṭabha are shown with swords in their hands. The rest of the figures are broken. A sculpture from Baijnath, Almora is almost identical to the previous image. The deity carries similar attributes, and wears his usual ornaments. Lakshmī, Madhu, Kaiṭabha, and Brahmā seated over the lotus are represented as usual. Fishes and crocodile are shown in the lower relief as swimming in the sea. (Fig. 32). These images partly agree with the description of the *Aparājitaprichchha* in putting discus in the upper left hand of the deity and supporting his head with the back right hand. A sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. 257) is almost similar to Baijnath image, with the figure of Brahmā lost. The deity carries the same attributes. The additional figures are nine planets and *Samudra-kanyās*, carved in relief. Another sculpture in the same Museum (No. 256) is also executed in the same fashion. Two sculptures in the State Museum (Nos. H. 120 and 56.360) from Garhawal, represent Anantaśayin lying in a typical position. He is supporting his head with the left hand and the other one carries a mace. Both of the right hands are broken. An *āyudhapurusha* is fighting with demons. Nine incarnations of Vishṇu and nine planets are also carved in the bracket at the top. On the basis of style these sculptures may be placed in c.10th-11th century A. D.

The above descriptions indicate that the medieval images of Anantaśayin are more elaborately executed with figures of gods and goddesses and have profuse ornamentation. The deity is frequently associated with his usual attributes. Besides this, the other features tally with the early images except for the tendency towards heaviness with definite artistic norms and iconographic standards in their execution. Moreover, the images have mostly followed the

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[1] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 112.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Aparājitaprichchhā[1] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[2] with certain regional variations

VISHṆU IMAGES

The god manifests himself either in complete incarnation incorporated as *avatāra*, or partial incarnation known as *āveśa*, or incarnation of a portion of his power called *aṁśa*. The purpose of the *avatāra* is to destroy the wicked and safeguard the virtuous,[3] and after fulfilling the task he returns to his original self.[4] The earliest references to incarnation are found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittiriya-Saṁhitā*[5] where Prajāpati is said to have assumed the form of Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha at different occasions.

The theory of *Daśāvatāra* had been completely worked out in the Gupta period and the references to *Daśāvatāra*[6], Varāhāvatāra[7] and Rāmāvatāra[8] are noticed in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The *Meghadūta* also refers to Kṛishṇa, the son of Gopa.[9] The *Nārāyaṇiya* section mentions four *avatāras*,[10] six *avatāras*[11] and *Daśāvatāras*[12] in different verses. The ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu according to the *Purāṇas*, are Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛisiṁha, Vāmana (Trivikrama), Paraśurāma, Rāghava-Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Buddha and Kalki; other authorities mention Balarāma in place of the Buddha. The epigraphic data also shows that several incarnations of Vishṇu were well known in the Gupta period[13].

Matsyāvatāra

Matsyāvatāra is the first incarnation among *Daśāvatāras*, and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* gives a complete story regarding this incarnation.[14] It furnishes the following account of the origin of Matsya incarnation of Vishṇu. At the end of the past *Kalpa* there was a partial dissolution of the universe in which the earth and other worlds became submerged in the ocean. The Lord Hari was lying on the serpent-bed in the ocean, while Brahmā was sleeping on the lotus issuing from the naval of the divine lord. Then the demon Hayagrīva snatched away the *Vedas* from the mouth of the creator. Thereupon, the Lord Hari took the form of the *safari* fish and recovered the *Vedas*.

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[1] 219, 1-9.
[2] 3, 29-30.
[3] *Gītā*, IV, 5-8.
[4] *Mahābhārata Śāntiparva*, 339, 107.
[5] VI, 2, 4. 2.
[6] XIII, 5.
[7] XIII, 8.
[8] XIII, 1.
[9] I, 15.
[10] *Śāntiparva*, 349, 37.
[11] *Ibid.*, 339, 77-90.
[12] *Ibid..* 339, 103-04.
[13] *Classical Age*, pp. 414 ff.
[14] VIII, 24.

The *Agni-Purāṇa*[1] relates another story of the Matsya incarnation. Vaivaśvata Manu performed a severe *tapas*. Once while he was offering oblation to the manes in the river Kṛitamālā, a small fish appeared in his folded hands, which as he was about to throw it into the water, said 'Throw me not into it, for, I am afraid there of the bigger fishes. Thereupon, Manu placed it in a jar. But within a short time, the fish increased in size and asked for more space. The king then placed it in a small pond, but it still kept increasing in size and demanding more space, he threw it into a lake, and at last into the sea, where it grew to a huge size of a hundred thousand *yojanas*. Moreover, the fish told the bewildered Manu that on the seventh day from thereon, the universe will be submerged beneath the ocean, and so he should after taking all kinds of seeds and accompanied by the seven *Ṛishis*, enter into a boat, and during the night of Brahmā, fasten it to the horn. And then, the fish disappeared. On the foretold day, Manu entered into a boat along with seven recluses on seeing the sea exceeding its bounds. Instantly a big fish with horns appeared on the scene and Manu fastened his boat to its horn. Thereupon the Matsya related the Matsya-Purāṇa to Manu.

The image of Matsya may be like that of a fish[2] or half-fish and half-man. The human half is generally decorated with all the ornaments, worn by Vishṇu. He has frequently four arms carrying conch and discus in two hands and the other two is held in *abhaya* and *varada* poses.[3]

The Matsya incarnation in the fish form, is occasionally noticed on the recessed corner or the bas-relief of a sculpture representing Vishṇu as the central figure. The fish is simple in form and small in size. The images representing this form of the Matsya incarnation are exhibited in the State Museum (Nos. H. 107; 42.189; 44.48) and Mathura Museum (No. D. 21), which may be placed in the medieval period.

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[1] Chap. II.

[2] *Agni-Purāṇa*, 49. 1.

[3] *EHI*, I, I. p. 127.

A few sculptures representing independent Matsya incarnation are found in the Varāha temple at Soron and Nadrai, (Etah) and Garhwa fort (Allahabad) which may also be assigned to the medieval period. The Matsya is shown in the fish form, swimming in the ocean with seven recluses seated over it and engaged in the philosophical discourse. The image at Nadrai represents similar Matsya incarnation in the fish form on which four recluses are seated, while the other figures are broken. The image at Garhwa fort represents Matsya incarnation in a beautiful fish form with scales. Four ascetics with *jaṭāmukuṭa* ear-pendants, neck-ornament, holy-thread. girdle, armlets and loin-cloth are standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. They carry rosary in the raised right hand and a vessel in the left. Mithuna figures are carved on the upper panel, and fine scrolls are executed on the lower relief with a male figure playing on flute (Fig. 33). These images are carved in accordance with the legend recorded in the *Agni-Purāṇa.*

Kūrmāvatāra

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* gives a detailed description regarding this *avatāra.*[1] The *Agni Purāṇa*[2] records that Vishṇu assumed the form of a *Kūrma* (tortoise) for supporting on his back the mountain employed in the churning of the ocean by the gods ond demons for obtaining *amṛita.* The image of Kūrma should be either in tortoise[3] form or half-man and half-tortoise (the lower part should be of tortoise). He should have four hands carrying conch and discus in two hands and the other two held in *abhaya* and *varada* poses. The image should be adorned with ornaments and *Kiriṭamukuṭa* over the head.[4]

The image of Kūrma is occasionally seen in the bas-relief of the sculpture representing Vishṇu as the main deity. It is generally shown in the simple tortoise form or along with the *sāgara-manthana* scene. The first type of depiction is found in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 23) and State Museum (No. H. 107) sculptures, assignable to c. 10th century A. D. These images correspond with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa.* Two sculptures-one at Mathura (No. D. 37[5]) and the other in the State Museum (No. 42.189), represent Kūrma

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1. I, 3, 16; XI, 7, 13; VIII, 6-8.
2. Chap. III.
3. *Agni-Purāṇa*, 49 1.
4. *EHI*, I, 1, pp. 127-28.
5. J. Ph. Vogel, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 102; *Mathura Kala*, p. 66.

in the *sāgara-manthana* scene on the upper panel of Vishṇu image. The Kūrma is shown in the tortoise form with the mountain *Mandara* as the churning stick on his back which is being churned on by gods and demons within the ocean. In the Mathura image Lakshmī is emerging out of the sea which corroborates the description of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.[1] An independent incarnation of Kūrma in tortoise form is noticed at Garhwa fort (Allahabad). The tortoise is depicted in the natural fashion, and the gods and demons are churning stick placed on his back. Brahmā, female figures and Mithuna figures are beautifully executed on the upper panel. (Fig. 34, c. 10th century A. D.). The image agrees with the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

Varāha

The earliest reference to Varāha is found in the *Ṛigveda* as Emusha Varāha.[2] The *Atharvaveda* states that the goddess Earth loves the Varāha and opens herself for the Wild boar.[3] The subsequent literature in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas* glorifies Varāha as an incarnation of Mahā-Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa.[4] According to V.S. Agrawala, the Vedic conception of creative modality comprises the five fold pattern of Svayambhū, Parmesṭhi, Sūrya, Chandra and Pṛithvī, comprising as Ādivarāha, Yajña-Varāha, Śveta-Varāha, Brahma-Varāha and Emusha Varāha.[5]

Varāha, the third incarnation of Vishṇu is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the slayer of Hiraṇyāksha. It relates that for the creation of the universe the Lord of sacrifice assumed the form of the boar for lifting up the earth which had sunk into the lower regions.[6] In this incarnation he killed the demon Hiraṇyāksha and lifted the earth.[7] The *Agni-Purāṇa* records that Hiraṇyāksha, the chief demon, defeated the gods and took possession of their heavenly capital. Therefore, the gods requested Vishṇu for help. The lord took the form of a boar and slew the demon Hiraṇyāksha.[8] It is indicated in the *Vishṇu*, *Liṅga* and *Garuḍa-Purāṇas* that Brahmā carried out this task in the form of Varāha.[1] The *Aparājitapṛichchha* refers to the image of Varāha with whom Lakshmī is associated instead of Pṛithvī.[2] The *Matsya-Purāṇa* informs us that Mahā-Varāha should carry mace and lotus in his hands while one of his legs should be placed over the Kūrma and the other on Ādisesha. Pṛithvī should be seated either on his snout or on the elbow, carrying *nilotpala* flower in one of her hands and the other should be placed on the hip.[3] The *Agni-Purāṇa* gives a similar description of Bhūvarāha but with slight variation in carrying conch in the right hand and lotus in the left. Lakshmī should be seated on his elbow; and Pṛithvī and Ādiśesha should be shown in front of his feet.[4] The *Vishṇudharmottara* records almost similar description with certain modifications regarding Ādiśesha who should be gazing at the goddess, and have four hands carrying plough and *mūsala* in two of them and the other two held in the *añjali* pose. The Lord should carry conch in the hand, on which Prithvī is seated and lotus, mace and discus in the other three hands. Or the god should be ready to chop-off the head of the demon with a discus in his hand. The demon should have a trident in his hand.[5] The deity may also be shown with two arms.[6]

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[1] VIII, 8, 13-16.
[2] VIII, 77.10
[3] XII, 1.48.
[4] V,S. Agrawala, *Solar symbolism of the boar, preface*.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 29
[6] II, 7, 1·
[7] III, 13-19.
[8] Chap. IV.

In this region, two types of Varāha images are found-anthropomorphic form with boar-face, and the theriomorphic form

Anthropomorphic Form of Varāha

The Varāha image of the pre-Gupta period was unknown untill recently. But the discovery of a slab containing the image of Varāha with an inscription in the Kushāṇa script from Mathura (No. 65.15.4) poses an interesting problem. It is the earliest representation of Varāha which is very remarkable from the iconographic point of view. The central figure represents Varāha who has disproportionate contour of the body with stiff chest and slim limbs, and he is standing with the right leg stretched and the left slightly turned. He wears thick drapery, necklace, armlets and anklets and *Śrīvatsa* symbol. Two of his four hands are held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose and the remaining two are raised, holding in each a disc carved with the figure of Sun seated in a two-horsed

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1. *EHI*,, I, I, pp. 129-32.
2. 219. 10-23.
3. 260, 28-30.
4. 49, 2-3.
5. III, 79, 2-8.
6. III, 79, 2-9.

chariot.[1] The face of the deity is completely broken but he appears to have been looking towards a small female figure (Pṛithvī) seated on his shoulder who is, probably carrying a lotus in her hand. A soldier with a bow and arrow on the right, and a devotee with folded hands on the left, wearing typical Indo-scythian dress are also shown. On the pedestal there is an inscription in the Kushāṇa inscript assigning it to c. Ist-2nd century A.D. (Fig. 35). This image of Varāha pronounces the incarnation theory in its earliest origin in the plastic art. But, however, the definite form of Varāha incarnation was not yet decided, which envolved at a later stage in the Gupta period.

The Varāha incarnation was very popular in the Gupta art and the artist gave a free aesthetic ideal to its execution. The image of the deity from Kuthari, now placed in the Allahabad Museum (No.292), shows two- armed man-boar form. He stands over reclining Ādiśesha who is shown in *añjali* pose. The deity wears a beaded-necklace and *kiñjalkini* garland[2], and uplifts Pṛithvī with his left hand. The sculpture represents the fine plastic conception of the Gupta art. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara* in having two arms.[3] A fragmentary Gupta image (No. D.13) in the Mathura Museum consists of the left arm of a male figure on which a female figure is seated. The sculpture probably represents Varāha incarnation.[4] A pillar in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 27) represents Varāha lifting Pṛithvī as usual. It can be assigned to c. 5th century A.D

A Varāha image from Deogarh shows the deity in massive form standing in the similar attitude as the Udayagiri image.[5] He is standing over Ādiśesha with the left leg turned and the right one stretched. The Ādiśesha and his consort are half-lying with folded hands and have canopies over the head. The figure of Varāha wears *ekāvali*, armlets, anklets, *kiñjalkinī* and loin-cloth. The two-armed deity holds Pṛithvī on the left elbow and the right hand is placed on the hip. He is looking at her with admiration. On the right flank Lakshmī stands with a lotus in her hand. A big halo surrounds the back of the deity. The *ekāvali*, *kiñjalkinī* and the big halo assign its date to c. 5th-6th century A.D. It is almost similar to the Udayagiri Varāha image, and it corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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1. The solar-orb is shown on the obverse of the Ādivarāha coins of Mihirbhoja at the feet of the Varāha figure. (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XXV, Fig. 18).
2. *Matsya-Purāṇa*, 247, 50.
3. III, 79, 2-9.
4. *CBIMA*. p. 6,
5. ASIAR. X, p, 48, Pl. XVIII.

The late-Gupta Varāha statuette from Deogarh represents slight deterioration in art, with the deity having four arms and standing us usual over Ādiśesha. He wears his usual ornaments, and the Pṛithvī is seated on his back left elbow caressing the snout with her right hand in admiration. The deity holds a conch in the front left, a discus in the back left, a mace in the back right hands, and the fourth one is held on his thigh. The description of the present image almost agrees with the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* with slight variation in bearing two-armed figure of Ādiśesha.

The medieval images of Varāha have followed in details the textual descriptions. The frieze from Garhwa fort, Allahabad, represents Varāha standing in *ālīḍha* pose with the left leg raised and planted over a pedestal, and the right stretched. The deity wears neck-ornaments, armlets anklets, *vanamālā* and a straps like waist-band in which a dagger is noticed. The four-armed deity holds a mace in the back right hand and a discus in the raised back left hand. Pṛithvī is seated on the elbow of this hand. He keeps his front right hand near the hips, while the fouth hand is partly broken. The deity is gazing at Pṛithvī with admiration. The image is the plastic creation of c. 10th century A.D. (Fig. 36). A panel in one of the temples at Chandpur, district Jhansi, represents Varāha, standing in *ālīḍha* pose with the left leg raised and planted firmly over a pedestal and the right stretched forward. The deity carries a conch and discus in the back and front left hands, and a mace in the back right. The fourth hand is kept stretched near the thigh. Pṛithvī is seated as usual on the left elbow; the same hand also holds a discus. The image in the Mathura Museum (No. 15.1114) shows the smilar figure of Varāha with the same attributes. On the basis of style these images may be placed in c. 10th-11th century A.D. The *Vishṇudharmottara*[1] was largely followed in carving these images.

Two sculptures from Mathura (Nos. 249 and 2802) represent Varāha standing with the figure of Pṛithvī on the left elbow. The additional figures are Brahmā, Śiva, three *nāgis*, attendants and a lotus parasol. A Varāha sculpture from the bed of Gomati near Lucknow (State Museum No. H. 123) is a fragment from the lower part of the figure standing similarly with right leg on a *kachchhapa* and the left leg on a disc supported by a couple of *nāgas*. The image partly tallies with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[2].

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 71.

[2] 260, 28-30.

Varāha Image in Theriomorphic Form

In the boar-form, the Varāha images are noticed at Dudhai, district Jhansi, and in the State Museum (No.0.84). They may be placed in c. 10th century A.D. The Dudhai image is a common type of Varāha figure, wholly worked out as a boar animal with a thick snout bearing the figure of Pṛithvī on the top, long tusks and a big body covered with the figures of gods and goddesses, such as Rudras, Kinnaras, Sarasvatī and Ādiśesha, etc. (Fig. 37). The State Museum image is almost similar to the Dudhai image. These theriomorphic form of Varāha can be compared with that found at Eran, district Sagar (M.P.).[1]

Nṛisiṁha Incarnation

The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Padma-Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[2] relate the legend of this incarnation. Prahalāda was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu, though he was born as the son of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. Disliking his devotion to Vishṇu, the father subjected Prahlāda to various forms of cruel treatment. But unmindful of his behaviour Prahalāda remained peaceful and commenced to preach the doctrine that Vishṇu was the omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent God. In a rage of anger, Hirṇyakaśipu asked Prahalāda to show the God in the pillar if he was omnipresent. Thereupon, Prahlāda struck the pillar with fists, while another account relates that Hiraṇyakaśipu himself kicked the pillar, and Vishṇu instantly came out of it, half-man and half-lion, and tore Hiraṇyakaśipu to pieces. The *Vishṇudharmottara* describes the Nṛisiṁha image with lion-face and human body. The deity should have broad shoulders, hips and neck, slender waist and a small abdomen. He should wear blue garment and other usual ornaments along with a halo around his head. The deity should be in *ālīḍhāsana* with the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu lying on his knees. Nṛisiṁha should be tearing the belly of the demon with his sharp nails.[3] Or, he should be holding the conch, discus, mace and lotus, with hair looking like curly flames of fire with *prabhāmaṇḍala*. He should be furnished with all implements but devoid of ornaments.[4]

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* records that Nṛisiṁha should have eight hands with his face and eyes extended. Hiraṇyakaśipu should be stretched out with the belly being ripped open and blood should be coming out of his mouth. Or, the demon should be shown as fighting with the God. In this combat the legs of both are joined together and the Asura is continuously attacking him with a sword and shield.[1] According to *Agni-Purāṇa* the God should have four hands; two of them should carry a mace and discus, and the other two should be tearing the belly of the demon.[2] *The Rūpamaṇḍana* refers to the two-armed deity, with which he is tearing the belly of the demon.[3]

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[1] *Viśvakarmā*, Pl. 93.
[2] VII, 7, 1-10; II. 7, 14 ff.
[3] III, 78 ff.
[4] III, 2, 1-15.

The *Āgamas* record two kind of images of Nṛisiṁha, viz. the Girija-Nṛisiṁha and Sthauṇa-Nṛisṁha. The Girija-Nṛisiṁha or Kevala-Nṛisiṁha is generally a single figure seated in *padmāsana*, *utkuṭikāsana* or *lalitāsana*. The deity may have two or four arms. In the latter case, the upper right hand should hold discus and the upper left conch, the remaining two being stretched forward and supported on the knees. The form is designed as Yoga-Nṛisiṁha. Or he may hold, conch, discus, mace and lotus in the four hands according to the *Śilparatna*. Or he should carry discus and conch in the two back hands; the front right being held in *abhaya* pose and the front left on the hip[4]. The conception of Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha is that the lion comes out of a pillar, and is a seated figure with four arms holding in back hands conch and discus; the front right one being held in *abhaya* or *varada* pose, and the front left resting on the thigh. According to *Vaikhānasāgama*, Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha may have eight, twelve or sixteen hands. The demon should be shown as described in the *Purāṇas*.[5]

The Nṛisiṁha images, as noted in this part of the country, may be subdivided as follows :

(i) Girija-Nṛisiṁha or Yoga-Nṛisiṁha
(ii) Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha with four arms
(iii) Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha with eight arms

Girija Nṛisiṁha

The earliest image of Girija-Nṛisiṁha is noticed at Deogarh, belonging to the Gupta period. The figure of the deity is carved in a medallion. Seated in *lalitāsana*, he wears a small crown, necklace, armlets and anklets. The necklace somewhat resembles the *ekāvali*, worn by Vishṇu image in the Gupta period. He is shown open mouthed with side tusks, and his hair are dishevelled as if in great anger. The delicately carved four-armed deity holds a mace in the back right hand, discus in the stretched front right hand placed over the knee and a conch in the back left. The front left hand is resting on the knee. On his left, Prahalāda is shown with folded hands. It is to be pointed out that both the front hands of the deity are stretched forward and supported on knees which is a characteristic of Yoga-Nṛisiṁha image according to the *Āgamas*. As such, the image may represent this form. However, there are certain variations in showing discus in the front right hand, instead of in the back right, in which he carries a mace. This attribute is not mentioned in the text. The image appears to be the plastic creation of c.6th century A.D.

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[1] 260, 31-35.
[2] 49, 17.
[3] III, 25.
[4] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 149-51, Pl. XLII XLIII.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-54.

A pillar-shaft in Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 27) represents Nṛisiṁha on one face with mace, conch, discus and lotus, agreeing with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[1] Another medieval pillar in the same Museum (No. 225) shows Kewala-Nṛisiṁha, standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with two hands carrying a mace in the right and discus in the left. The image partly concords with the *Āgamas* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[2]. A statuette from Deogarh represents this form of the deity, wearing usual ornaments and *yajñopavīta*. He is shown with four arms, two of which are engaged in tearing the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu who is lying on his lap. The back right hand is held in the *kaṭaka* pose and the back left is raised. The image may be assigned to c.6th century A.D. on the basis of the style. The sculpture is interesting because the deity is represented without any attribute. No such description is found in the texts. However, the other features of the image agree with the *Āgamas* and the *Agni-Purāṇa*. The medieval rock-cut image from Dudhai, district Jhansi, represents the colossal figure of Nṛisiṁha with twenty-five feet in height. The massive figure is standing in *ālīḍha* pose with the left leg raised and placed over a pedestal, and the right one stretched forward. The lion-face deity has side tusks and open mouth. He wears a beaded-necklace, armlets. anklets and a holy-thread. He is tearing the belly of the demon whose figure is badly damaged. The two back hands are raised upwards as in great joy after the evil is undone. The image represents Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha with a greater degree of variation from the canon. But it partly agrees with the description of the

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[1] III, 2, 1-15.

[2] III, 25.

Vishṇudharmottara.[1] Two broken images in the Allahabad Museum (Nos. 28 and 463) represent Sthauṇa-Nṛisimha with four arms tearing the belly of the demon as usual, along with the figure of Prahalāda standing in *añjali* pose. These images may be dated in c.10th century A.D. Similar representation of the deity is noticed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 215) which may be assigned to c.8th-9th century A.D.

Sthauṇa-Nṛisiṁha with eight arms

A sculpture in the State Museum (No.H. 125) shows this form of the deity with eight arms. He wears his usual dress and ornaments, and his right leg is advanced in the posture of an archer and is planted on the back of a prostrate demon, holding a sword and shield. Two of his hands tear the bowels of Hiraṇyakaśipu lying on his lap. The remaining right hands hold a sword and a mace. The left hand holding a lock of hair, also carries a shield and the other holds a discus. The other arms are broken. On the right, the figure of Prahalādā kneels with a garland in his hand. Lakshmī, Bhūdevī, Śiva, Brahmā, Kārttikeya and other figures are also carved. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to c.10th century A.D. The sculpture partly tallies with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Vaikhānasāgama* in having eight arms. But conch and lotus in two hands and the withdrawl of the entails of the demon with the other two hands as mentioned in the texts, are lacking in this particular sculpture. The sculpture from Garhwa fort, Allahabad represents eight-armed Nṛisiṁha wearing *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, neck-ornaments holy-thread, *vanamālā*, armlets and anklets etc. He is standing similarly with the right leg raised and planted on the shield of a demon attacking him with a sword. He has eight hands, tearing the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu with the front two hands, dragging the tuft of hair of the demon with one of the left hands; the other left ones carrying indistinct objects. With one of the right hands he is withdrawling the entails of the demon; the other right one is broken and the third right hand is keeping a lotus flower. The sculpture almost tallies with the prescription of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Vaikhānasāgama*. (Fig. 38). The image may be dated back to c.10th century A. D.

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[1] *Supra.*

Vāmanāvatāra (Trivikrama)

The Vedic god Vishṇu is well known for having made three *strides,*[1] and he is known as *Urugāya* and *Urukrama.*[2] The conception of the Vāmanāvatāra is suggested in the *Ṛigveda* where Aditi asks Vishṇu to kill Vṛitra.[3] The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* mentions the story of the struggle between gods and demons and states that Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf and measured the share of the gods.[4] The entire legend was evolved in the *Purāṇas* in the form of a powerful story to excel the glory of Vishṇu. The two aspects of Vāmana incarnation are mentioned in later accounts. In the first, he assumed the form of a dwarf and in the second he expands his body to measure the three worlds. Thus the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇā*[5] records that Bali, the son of Virochana, was empowered to defeat the gods through religious penances. Indra was banished from his kingdom, his distressed mother Aditi prayed to Vishṇu to be born to her as a son for the rescue of Indra's kingdom. So, Vishṇu was born as a son to Aditi, and while he was a lad, he went to Bali, who was at the time engaged in a sacrifice. There he begged him for a tract of land as a gift. Bali, though interrupted by his *guru* Śukra, readily agreed to give the gift required. The boy then asked Bali to bestow on him the gift of just three paces of space which was conferred by the *asura* with ceremonial rites. Simultaneously, the young lad Vāmana assumed a gigantic form of Trivikrama and measured the earth-world and the mid-world with two strides. As there was nothing left, Bali requested the god to utilise his own royal head for measuring the third stride. Immensely pleased, Vishṇu sent him to *pātāla-loka* by the pressure of his foot. Thus the world so acquired was duly made over to Indra to the great satisfaction of Aditi. The *Padma-Purāṇa*[6] also relates the story of Vāmana incarnation.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* refers to the image of Bali, the son of Virochana, which should be one hundred and twenty *aṅgulas* in size.[7] However, it does not mention Vāmana or Trivikrama. The *Vishṇudharmottara* informs us that the image of Vāmana should be of short stature, with flabby body. His body should have the colour of *dūrba* grass and he should wear a holy-thread and

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1. *Ṛigveda*, 1, 22, 17; 1, 154, 2.
2. *Ibid.*, 1, 155, 4.
3. IV, 18,11.
4. V1, 5,2,8.
5. VIII, 15-23 *Adh.*
6. I, *Adh.* XXX.
7. LV11I, 30.

black antelope-skin, and be engaged in the study of *śāstras,* and carry a staff in one of his hands.[1] According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa,* Vāmana should have a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand and a *chhatra* in the right.[2] The *Agni-Purāṇa* states that the figure of Vāmana should carry a *chhatra* and a staff.[3] The *Vaikhānasāgama* records that Vāmana should be represented in boyish form who should have a tuft of hair tied in a knot over the head, and wear *kaupīna, mekhalā* and *yajñopavīta*. He should carry a *chhatra,* a staff and a book and *pavitra* in his four hands.[4]

According to *Vishṇudharmottāra,* Trivikrama should carry a staff, noose, conch, discus, mace and lotus. shown in their natural form. His head should be raised with expanded eyes.[5] The *Śilparatna* states that the left leg of Trivikrama should be planted on the earth and right foot-raised in the sky,[6] According to the *Vaikhānasāgama,* the image of Trivikrama should be sculptured with four or eight arms. In case of four hands, one right hand should carry a conch and the other right held with the palm upwards. The left one should carry a discus and the other one stretched out. If eight hands are shown, five of them should carry conch, discus, mace. bow, plough, the other three being kept as in the previous instance.[7] The deity may be sculptured in three different ways with the left foot raised upto the level of right knee, or the navel, or the fore-head. They represent his strides over the earth, the mid-world and the heaven, respectively.[8]

Vāmana Mūrti

The Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu was first carved in the plastic form in the Gupta period.[9] The Kuthari pillar in the Allahabad Museum (No. 292) contains an image of pot-bellied Vāmana with short legs and wears deer-skin in *upavīta* fashion. He holds a rosary in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the

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1. III, 85, 54-55.
2. 260, 36-37.
3. 49, 5.
4. *EHI.*, I, II, Appendix c. p. 36.
5. III, 85, 55-57.
6. *EHI*, I, II, p. 167.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-67.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
9. The Gupte imoge at Deogarh (*MASI*, No. 70, p. 20, Pl. XIX (b), probably represents Vāmana.

left. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.[1]

A typical Vāmana image (Fig. 39) is noticed at Garhwa fort, Allahabad. The deity is shown in a boyish form, standing in the *dvibhaṅga* pose. He has a tuft of hair tied in a knot, and wears *kaupīna, mekhalā, vanamālā*, necklaces, *yajñopavita*, armlets, anklets and ear-rings. The four-armed deity carries a lotus flower in the back right hand; the front right one is held in *abhaya* pose. Both the left hands are partly broken. Vidyādharas are carved on the relief. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Vaikhānasāgama*, and belongs to the medieval period.

The medieval image from Manvadih, district Sitapur, now exhibited in the State Museum (No. H. 127), is a typical Vāmana figure in a boyish form. The deity is pot-bellied, and wears ear-rings, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavita*. He is standing on a lotus in *samabhaṅga* pose. The four-armed deity holds a discus in the upper left hand, a lotus in the upper right, and the lower right hand is held in the *varada* pose. The fourth one is broken. Lakshmī, Pushṭi with *viṇā*, and Vidyādharas are also shown. A similar four-armed Vāmana is noticed at Chandpur (Jhansi) and Mahoba (Hamirpur).

Another image in the same Museum (No. H. 128) represents Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu with the head and hands lost. Only one of the hands is extant which is shown in the *varada* pose. A statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 1205) shows the bust of Vishṇu in Vāmana incarnation as indicated by the *chhatra* held in the left hand of the deity. In other hands, he holds a mace and discus. These images partly correspond with the *Āgamas* but their attributes differ widely. A pillar from Amanpur, district Etah, represents Vāmana standing before Bali who is performing *yajña*. The figure of Vāmana is shown in a boyish form, and he carries a *chhatra* in one of his hands. This medieval sculpture corresponds with the legend recorded in the *Purāṇas*.

Trivikrama Mūrti

The image of Trivikrama was first sculptured in the Gupta period. N.P. Joshi tried to show that the icon of Trivikrama was first sculptured in the Kushāṇa period by taking into consideration one Kushāṇa Vishṇu image of the State Museum (No. J. 610[2]). But his arguments regarding the identification of the deity as Trivikrama, do not seem to be feasible on the ground that the front right hand which he thinks as gift-receiving hand, is actually a *varada* or boon-bestowing hand. The lower seated male figure is not a prince as he thinks, for the lackness of the crown and other princely symbols. Moreover, the bowl he keeps, is a simple vessel without making much of it. The argument that the figure of deity is quite massive in comparision to the devotee is meaningless, as frequently such images are met with. Moreover, the basic concept of the argument is not taken into consideration that Vāmana never appeared in Trivikrama form before receiving the boon from Bali. It is, therefore, surmised to be a simple Vishṇu image of the Kushāṇa period with a devotee seated below. There are two reliefs of this incarnation in the Mathura Museum (Nos. I.19 and 2664) of the Gupta period. The deity stands on the right leg and the left one is raised to stride the worlds. The leg reaches up to the shoulder of the deity and is struck against a huge monstrous face. Jāmbavana is dancing with joy near the left shoulder of the deity. Bali, the king is pouring water from a jar symbolising his gift of earth to Vāmana. The monstrous face may be symbolising the cosmos or *Brahmāṇḍa*.[1] In the Gupta period this ugly face with wide open eyes and a gaping mouth does occur in the Trivikrama figure. The possible explanation comes from the *Vishṇudharmottara*, which states that god should be shown with a half face and wide open eyes.[2] A sculpture from Baghara, Almora, now exhibited in the Allahabad Museum (No. 245), represents Trivikrama wearing usual ornaments. The left leg of the deity is raised to stride the world, and he has twelve broken hands, except the right upper one, holding a lotus. The bust of the deity is raised to a higher level, and the legs below thighs are lost. On the basis of style the sculpture may be placed in c. 10th century A.D. Another early-medieval massive sculpture from Kashipur (National Museum No. L. 143) represents Trivikrama (Fig. 40) with *Kiriṭamukuṭa*, neck-ornaments, garland, holy-thread and other ornaments. The four-armed deity holds a lotus in the front right hand held on the chest, a discus in the back left, a broken object in the back right, while the front left hand is broken. The deity is striding his right leg into the cosmos. Bali and his attendants are shown below.

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[1] 260, 36-37.

[2] *Bulleti of Museum and Archaeology in U.P.* No. 2, pp. 20-21, Fig. 5.

Paraśurāma

According to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the incarnation of Paraśurāma took place for the destruction of outlaw *kshattriyas* who were creating all sorts of troubles on the earth.[1] The character and legend regarding the deity are briefly described in the same *Purāṇa*.[2] The *Agni-Purāṇa*[3] also says that Hari took the form of Paraśurāma for protecting the gods, the *brāhmaṇas* and man-kind from the oppression of *kshattriyas*, and was born of Renukā and Jamadagni. Once Kārtavīrya, a *kshattriya* king having a thousand arms and excelling in war-like activities, went for hunting. He was invited to sumptuous refreshments by sage Jamadagni. The king was much impressed by the delicacies prepared from the milk of the cow sabala, and asked Jamadagni for the excellent cow. But Jamadagni refused to part with her. Thereupon, the infuriated sons of Kārtavīrya killed Jamadagni and returned home. On returning from the forest Paraśurāma found his father dead, and got furious. He delivered the earth from the *kshattriyas* by destroying twenty-one of their generations. He then performed expiatory ceremonies at Kurukshetra and bestowing the earth on the *brāhmaṇas*, retired to the mountain Mahendra. These legends are also recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*.[4] He is said to be an *āveśāvatāra* who has transferred his divine power to Rāghava-Rāma, and went himself to Mahendra hill for penance.

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, p. 168.

[2] III, 85, 57.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that Paraśurāma should have *jaṭāmukuṭa*, deer-skin and a *paraśu*.[5] The *Agni-Purāṇa* records that he should have four arms, carrying battle-axe, sword, bow and arrow.[6] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* states that the image of Paraśurāma should have *jaṭā*, deer-skin and *paraśu*.[7] The *Vaikhānasāgama* says that he should be shown with two hands carrying a *paraśu* in the right hand and the left one held in *sūchi* pose. He should wear ornaments including *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *yajñopavita*.[8]

The independent images of Paraśurāma are not found frequently.[9] In this particular region, his images are of two types. The first represents the deity independently and the second on the bas-relief of a central Vishṇu image. These images invariably belong to the medieval period.

The pillar from Amanpur, district Etah, depicts the encounter of Paraśurāma and Kārtavīrya, the *kshattriya* king who was killed in this combat. Paraśurāma wears a deer-skin, *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *yajñopavita*. He has only two hands, attacking Kārtavīrya with a battle-axe in his right hand, while the left one is broken. The king seems to be tired, and has a crown over his head and several arms which are all broken.

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[1] II, 7, 22.
[2] IX, 15, ff.
[3] IV, 12-19.
[4] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 181-86.
[5] III. 85, 61-62.
[6] 49, 5.
[7] III, 26.
[8] *EHI*, I, I, p. 186.
[9] Banerjea says that his four-armed image is rare, *DHI*, p. 420.

Another interesting image from Garhwa Fort, Allahabad is remarkable in as much as it represents Paraśurāma (Fig. 41) with four arms. The deity stands in *dvibhaṅga* pose, and wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-pendants, necklace, holy-thread, armlets, anklets, *vanamālā* and embroidered drapery. He carries a battle-axe in the back right hand and a lotus in the front right; the front left hand is held akimbo and the fourth one is broken. A devotee is shown below with folded hands. The figure partly agrees with the prescription of the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

The figure of Paraśurāma is also seen over the bas-relief of the central Vishṇu image. The illustrations are from Mathura Museum (Nos. D. 21[1] and 1569)[2]. In these cases Paraśurāma is shown with *paraśu*, deer-skin and *yajñopavita*. These sculptures may be placed in c. 10th century A.D. These images correspond with the descriptions of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

Rāghava-Rāma

Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, was deified in the early centuries of the Christian era,[3] and his name appears in the *Nārāyaṇiya* section of the *Mahābhārata* and a number of *Purāṇas*. The *Raghuvaṁśa* records the positive proof of his role as a form of Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa by mentioning Vishṇu born as the son of Daśaratha, for the destruction of Rāvaṇa.[4]

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* states that the image of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, should be 120 *aṅgulas* in measurement.[5] According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Rāma should be shown with princely *lakshaṇas* along with Bharata, Lakshamaṇa and Śatrughna.[6] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* informs us that the image of Rāma should be shown with two hands, carrying a bow and arrow, and have black complexion.[7] The *Vaikhānasāgama* also describes similar image of Rāma with same attributes. He should be standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, wearing a *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and other ornaments. Sītā, Lakshamaṇa and Hanumān should also be shown with him.[1] According to *Agni-Purāṇa*, Rāma should be represented as carrying a bow and an arrow in his two hands and also equipped with conch and sword.[2]

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[1] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[3] *VSMRS*, p. 66.

[4] X, 73.

[5] LVIII, 30.

[6] III, 85, 62-63.

[7] III, 27.

The image of Rāma was sculptured for the first time in the Gupta period. The reliefs representing this incarnation are noticed at Deogarh,[3] Varanasi, Śringverapur, and Chandpur (Jhansi) etc. Rāma is frequently associated with Sītā, Lakshamaṇa and Hanumān. The various reliefs illustrate the episodes from the life story of Rāma in the plastic art. The images of Rāma are two or four-armed.

Rāma with two arms

A statuette from Deogarh represents the image of Rāma shooting an arrow by the broken right hand and carrying a bow in the left. The head of the deity is lost, and he wears tight dress, *dhoti*, *vanamālā* and an ornament on the trunk, which consists of two cross-bands, one running diagonally from the right shoulder and the other from the left, from the junction of which runs another band girdling the chest. This ornament has been identified as *chhannavīra*.[4] He is shown in *ālīḍha* pose. Lakshamaṇa, similarly dressed, is stretching the string of his bow. A tree is shown behind. The sculpture may be assigned to c.5th-6th century A,D., and corresponds with the description of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Vaikhānasāgama*.[5] Another Gupta image from Deogarh shows the bust of Rāma, usually dressed with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *yajñopavita*, holding a bow in the left hand and arrow in the right. The image agrees with the description of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. A Gupta sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 261) represents the figures of Rāma and Lakshamaṇa, standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose below a tree with their usual dress. Both the figures carry a bow in the left hand resting with shoulder, and the right hand held in the *abhaya* pose. Another male figure, wearing a crown over the head, is shown discoursing with Rāma. Hanumān with the right hand raised in *abhaya* pose is also standing beside him. The sculpture was brought from

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, *Appendix* c. 40-41.
[2] 49, 6.
[3] *MASI*, No. 70, pp. 16-18, Pl. XV a, b, Pl. XVI, a, b and Pl. XVII a-e.
[4] *DHI*, p. 291; *MASI*, No. 70, Pl. XVI, a, b.
[5] *Op. cit.*

Śringverapur, and tallies with the description of the *Vaikhānasāgama.*[1] A medieval image from Garhwa Fort, Allahabad represents two-armed Rāma (Fig. 42), standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose. The deity is shown as *vanavāsī* Rāma with *jaṭāmukuṭa* over the head. He wears ear-rings, necklace, *chhannavira* with evident artistic variations from the Gupta age, armlets, anklets, *vanamālā* and ornamented girdle. The deity has two hands, holding an arrow in the right hand and a bow in the left. The image perfectly agrees with the description of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. An almost similar image of Rāma with a bow and arrow in a *Daśāvatāra* panel has been recently acquired in the Màthura Museum (No. 68.3).[2] The other incarnations shown are Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki. This panel belongs to c.8th century A.D.

Rāma with four arms

The medieval sculpture from Chandpur, (Jhansi), shows the four-armed deity standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. He wears a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, necklace, armlets, anklets, bracelets and *yajñopavita*. He holds a conch in the back left hand, a bow in the broken front left, probably an arrow in the back right; and the front right hand is held in the *varada* pose. Below, Hanumān is seated with folded hands. The image almost agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

Rāmāyaṇa scenes

Construction of the *Setu*—A slab in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 165), though found at Varanasi, is carved in Deogarh fashion, and it depicts the *Rāmāyaṇa* scene for the construction of the holy-bridge. It shows the usual figures of Rāma, Lakshamaṇa, Sugrīva and Hanumān seated below. On the lower relief several monkeys are erecting the bridge. The relief may be assigned to c.5th century A.D.

Reception of Lakshamaṇa by Sugrīva—The panel from Deogarh, depicts the figure of Sugrīva being urged by his wife Rūmā and nephew Aṅgada to receive Lakshamaṇa with great honour. Sugrīva with a crown is seated in *lalitāsana*, and holds an indistinct object in the right hand; the left is resting on the knee. Hanumān and Rūmā are standing behind (c. 5th century A.D.).

Hanumān carrying *Sañjivana Būṭi*—Another frieze from Deogarh shows the bust of Hanumān flying with a hill, supported by both the hands. He wears a necklace and *vanamālā*. The frieze seems to be the plastic creation of c. 6th century A.D.

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[1] *Supra.*

[2] V.N. Srivastava, *Bulle'in of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.* No. 2, pp. 56-57, Fig. 3.

Garlanding of Sugrīva by Lakshamaṇa—A relief from the same place represents the scene of garlanding Sugrīva by Lakshamaṇa in the presence of of Rāma, who carries a bow in the left hand, while the broken right is probably held in *abhaya* pose. Lakshamaṇa holds a garland by both the hands and is ready for garlanding Sugrīva who is standing beside him with a crown over his head. His right hand is shown in the *kaṭaka* pose and the left is resting on the thigh (c. 5th century A.D.).

Combat of Bāli and Sugrīva—Another Gupta image at Deogarh shows the combat of Bāli and Sugrīva. The figure of Bāli is broken. Sugrīva carries a mace in the left hand and is being prepared for this task in *ālīḍha* pose. Hanumān is also standing behind him with a mace in his lefth and.

Sītā, Rāma and Lakshamaṇa in the hermitage of Atri and Anusūyā. This panel from Deogarh, artistically executed with the plastic conception of c. 5th-6th century A.D., represents Rāma, Sītā and Lakshamaṇa along with Atri and Anusūyā. The figure of Rāma is seated in *utkuṭikāsana*, and has *jaṭāmukuṭa* over the head. Lakshamaṇa standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, holds a bow hanging on the left shoulder, while the right hand is akimbo. The ascetic Atri is seated cross-legged with *yogapaṭṭa* around his legs. He wears matted locks, beaded necklace and *yajñopavīta*. He carries a book in his left hand and the broken right hand is turned. Sītā is seated with her turned legs, supporting herself with the right hand. Anusūyā standing behind, is adoring Sītā with flowers. A frieze from the same place also shows Rāma, Lakshamaṇa and Sītā at the hermitage of Śavarī[1] (c. 6th century A.D.).

Sugrīva seated on a throne—Another image at Deogarh shows the figure of Sugrīva, wearing a crown, necklace and tight upper garments. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a throne with a back pillow, and carries a flower in his right hand, while the left is resting on the knee. Behind him, the monkey-faced Aṅgada is standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose. His wife Rūmā is also standing behind him (c. 6th century A.D.).

A Gupta panel from Śringverapur (Allahabad), represents Rāma and Lakshamaṇa standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with similar dress and *jaṭā-jūṭa*. Rāma keeps his right hand in the *abhaya* pose, while Lakshamaṇa has raised this hand up to the shoulder. Beside him, Sugrīva and Hanumān are standing with their right hand held in *saṁdarśana-mudrā*, probably discoursing with a dwarfish figure standing below. A few trees are carved over them (Fig. 43). These reliefs can be compared with those found at Hazara Ramswami temple of Vijayanagar which are executed with great life and spirit.[1] Moreover, the reliefs from Prambanam (Central Java) depicting *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes with great vigour and lucidity, differ in themes.[2]

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[1] *HIIA*, pp. 79, 86, 204, Fig. 167. The identification of Śavarī is doubtful.

Hanumān

Hanumān, a great devotee of Rāma, is said to be well versed in scriptures, and played important role in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He received education in grammer from Sūrya.[3]

The image of Hanumān is first sculptured in the Gupta period but it was not an independent figure. It was an accessory figure along with Rāma, associated with the legends of *Rāmāyaṇa*. But a relief at Deogarh is interesting in showing Hanumān in somewhat superior position. The extant bust of the monkey-faced Hanumān has coiled hair, and wears a necklace and tight dress. The remarkable feature of the image is the right hand in *abhaya* pose, which shows that Hanumān was gaining so much of importance as to give protection to the devotees. The relief may be assigned to c. 6th century A.D. Another figure of Hanumān in ivory, probably belongs to the Gupta period. It was found somewhere in northern India, and exhibited in the College Art Association Newyork, 1935 (No. 32).[4] The figure, half-human and half-monkey represents Hanumān, the monkey-god. The deity is armless; the right leg is broken above the knee and the left leg at the ankle. The deity is nude except for a girdle of lotus-leaf palmettes around the hips.

In the medieval period, the independent figures of Hanumān were being carved throughout the country, and he acquired a higher status as a deity. The colossal image of Hanumān from Dudhai, district Jhansi, is a common type of image found in this region. The deity is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with his left foot planted over a female figure with emaciated body, probably, Chāmuṇḍā[5]. He is wearing a necklace, *yajñopavita*, armlets and anklets. His

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1, V.A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone*, p. 230, Pl. XLVII.

2. E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 132 ff., Pl. XXXIX-XL, also J. Ph. Vogel, *The relation between the Art of India and Java*, pp. 38 ff., Fig. VI.

3. Sampurnananda, *Hindu Deva Parivara Ka Vikasa*, p. 148.

4. A.K. Coomaraswamy and N.M. Heeramaneck, *Loan Exhibition of Early Indian Sculptures, Paintings and Bronzes, The College Art Association*, Newyork, 1935, p. 12, No. 32.

5. V.S. Agrawala identifies such figure with that of Chāmuṇḍā- (*JUPHS*, XXII, p. 148), but this identification is doubtful.

left hand is shown in *sūchi* pose, and the right one is broken. On the basis of style the sculpture may be dated in c. 9th century A.D. A similar image (Fig. 44) is found at Nokhera, district Etah which is perfectly intact raising his right hand over the head and left one holding certain indistinct object. An almost similar image of Hanumān from Parkham was deposited in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 27). Coomaraswamy assigns this statue to the Gupta period[1] but V. S. Agrawala rightly assigns the date to c.9th century A.D.[2] Another statue of Hanumān from Mathura is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta[3]. The Allahabad Museum also possesses such image of Hanumān (No. 433). The medieval images from Mahoba and Kankon (Hammirpur) represent similar massive figures of Hanumān standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with his left foot planted over an emaciated human figure, and the right one slightly stretched.

Kṛishṇa

The *Ṛigveda*[4], *Kauśītaki-Brāhmaṇa*[5] and *Chhāndogya-Upanishad*[6] refer to a Kṛishṇa who was a sage, known Kṛishṇāṅgiraśa, but later literatures do not refer at all this aspect to Kṛishṇa. Infact, the basic conception of Kṛishṇa lies in the fusion of Vāsudeva of *Vṛishṇis* and Kṛishṇa of the cow-herds.

Vāsudeva was deified in the centuries preceding the Christian era, and several legends had gathered round him,[7] whereas the cult of Kṛishṇa was brought by the foreign tribe of the Ābhīras.[8] The fusion of both these elements took place with the elaborate mythology of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva.

Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudeva-Devakī is the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu with popular theme and dynamic characters, combined with an unique personality. He is a complete *avatāra* and is called Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva. His life-story and legends regarding his deeds are elaborately recorded in the *Harivaṁśa*, *Bhāgavata*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*.

The earliest plastic illustrations representing the episode of Kṛishṇa's life are found in the Kushāṇa period round about Mathura. A relief from Mathura Museum (No. 17. 1344) depicts Vasudeva carrying the baby Kṛishṇa across the Yamuna, indicated by water-ripples, a crocodile, a couple of tortoise and fishes. Vasudeva is shown as holding a basket over his head and crossing the river. A Nāga is advancing behind him with seven hoods[1]. The sculpture may be assigned to the early Kushāṇa period.

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[1] *HIIA*, p. 86.
[2] *JUPHS*, XXI1, p. 148.
[3] *ASR*, 1923-24, p. 101, Pl. XXXV, Fig. k.
[4] VIII, 74,3.
[5] XXX, 9.
[6] III, 17, 6.
[7] *Supra*, p. 50.
[8] *VSMRS*, p. 53.

Kāliya-damana scene—The legend is recorded in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.[2] A sculpture in the State Museum (No. H. 82, F.P. Mathura) shows Kṛishṇa, planting his left foot over Kāliya-Nāga who has seven hoods, and is half-lying due to the severe pain. The bust and the face of the deity is lost. On the basis of style the image may be placed in the Kushāṇa period. An image in the Mathura Museum (No. 3374) also depicts Kāliya-*mardana* scene, which definitely belongs to the Gupta period. The broken relief consists of the figure of Kṛishṇa riding over Kāliya. His right arm is lost and the left one holds the string by which the head of the serpent is bridled. He wears necklace, wristlets and ear-pendants. Beside him stands a Nāga-damsel with the expression of deep devotion over her face as if soliciting the mercy of the God Kṛishṇa. The image is carved with exquisite beauty.[3] The terractotta plaque representing Kāliya-*damana* scene is also found at Mathura[4].

Kṛishṇa lifting Govardhana

The legend is recorded in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[5]. The statuettes representing this scene are found at Mathura, Varanasi and other places. The image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 147) shows this scene with the classical rhythmic plasticity of c. 5th century A.D. Kṛishṇa, wearing necklace, armlets, anklets, ear-rings, *vanamālā*, *valaya* and *aṅgada* is lifting Govardhana by his left hand and the right hand is placed on the hip. The Gupta sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 259) shows a similar scene of lifting Govardhana[6]. An image from Mathura (No. D. 47) represents Kṛishṇa holding Govardhana on the palm of his left hand. The deity wears his usual ornaments, and on

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1. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* records this legend in *Adh*. X, 3.
2. *Ibid*., X, 16.
3. K.D. Bajpai, *Mathura Kala Men Kṛishṇa, Balarāma Ki Mūrtiyan, Kalanidhi*, I, II, p. 134, Fig. 3.
4. H. Goetz. *JOIB*, I, I, pp. 5. ff. Pl. II.
5. X, 25.
6. For other Gupta sculptures showing this theme, see *ASR*, 1926-27, Pl. XLVI, d.

each side of him is a small figure standing with both the hands resting on a club. V.S. Agrawala rightly ascribes it to c. 7th century A.D.[1] Coomaraswamy[2] places it in the Kushāṇa period which does not seem to be feasible on stylistic grounds. Another image in the same Museum (No. D. 50) showing same episode may be assigned to c. 7th century A.D. A relief from Mathura Museum (No. 15. 1113) shows Kṛishṇa standing in *tribhaṅga* pose and lifting Govardhana with the left hand, while the right one is placed over the thigh. Four cows and two *Gopas* are also carved. The relief may be assigned to c. 7th century A.D. The medieval images representing this episode are exhibited in the Mathura Museum (Nos. D. 55, 830, 1035, 1057, 1110, etc.).

Kṛishṇa, Subhadrā and Balabhadra represented together as Jagannātha

The statuette of black marble from Mathura Museum (No. D. 49) shows Kṛishṇa, Subhadrā and Balabhadra, all shown together as Jagannātha.[3]

Kṛishṇa stealing butter—A statuette in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 180) shows the child Kṛishṇa stealing butter from a jar. He is wearing his usual dress and ornaments and is shown in playful attitude. A lady, probably Yaśodā, is churning the curd in another jar, unnoticing the event. Two female figures are standing above and gazing to Kṛishṇa with admiration. The sculpture may be assigned to c. 7th century A. D.

The obelisk in the State Museum (No. H. 181) depicts Kṛishṇa-līlā besides other representations, and may be placed in c. 9th century A.D.

1. Chāṇūra-vadha[4]—Kṛishṇa is fighting with the wrestler Chāṇūra, raising his right hand as if to strike him.
2. Yaśodā holding Kṛishṇa in her lap—She is seated in *lalitāsana* holding the baby Kṛishṇa on her lap who is fondling her breast.
3. Kāliya-damana—Kṛishṇa is subduing the dragon Kāliya who is shown with raised hoods.
4. Putanā-vadha[5]—Putanā with her emaciated body and raised hands is shown fleeing out of the severe pain due to the suckling of breast by the child Kṛishṇa.

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[1] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 119.

[2] *HIIA*, p. 66, Fig. 102.

[3] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 119.

[4] *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, X, 44.

[5] *Ibid.*, X, 6,

5. Yamalārjuna-uddhāra[1]—Kṛishṇa, standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, is uprooting two trees with his both hands.

Another obelisk in the same Museum (No. 0. 260) represents similar Kṛishṇa-līlā. It also may be assigned to c. 9th century A.D.

1. Kuvalaya Pīḍa-vadha[2]—Gopāla-Kṛishṇa is fighting with the elephant, pressing his neck with one of his hands.
2. Govardhana-dhārī Kṛishṇa—Kṛishṇa is uplifting the mountain with one of his hands. He is standing with the both legs stretched.
3. Putanā-vadha—Putanā is sitting in *lalitāsana* with her hands raised upwards. The child Kṛishṇa is suckling her breast.
4. Yaśodā is sleeping with the child Kṛishṇa in her lap.
5. Yaśodā is churning curd in a jar, while the child Kṛishṇa is standing before her.
6. Arishṭāsura-vadha[3]-Kṛishṇa is catching the tail of the bull and striking him by the right hand raised in the air.
7. Keśī-vadha-Keśī in the form of a horse is standing on his hind legs and attacking Kṛishṇa who is striking him at the abdomen.
8. Yamalārjuna-uddhāra—Shown as in the previous obelisk.

Nanda fondling Kṛishṇa-A statuette from Deogarh represents the bust of Nanda, fondling Kṛishṇa in his lap. On the basis of style the image may be placed in the Gupta period.

Bhīma-Jarāsandha combat[4]— The frieze in the State Museum (No. H. 88) shows the fight of Bhīma and Jarāsandha at Rajagriha. The frieze, a part of *toraṇa* of the Gupta period from Garhwa, Allahabad, represents Kṛishṇa with four arms, watching the combat. In his left hands, he carries a conch and mace and in the right a discus; the fourth one is held on the hip. Arjuna is standing behind him with bow and arrow in his hands. Gaṇeśa, three female figures, probably wives of Jarāsandha and a male figure are also carved in the relief.

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[1] *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* X, 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, X-43 ; The scene is also depicted at Badami and Khajuraho, Deva, K. *Lilā Scenes in the Lakshamaṇa Temple-Khajuraho, Lalit Kala.* No. 7, pp. 84-85, Pl. XXXI.

[3] *Ibid.*, X, 36. Such scenes are also noticed at Mandasor and Badami caves, Deva. K. *Supra.*, p. 88. See also *ASIAR*. 1909-10, Pl. XLIV.

[4] *Ibid.*, X, 72.

Independent Images of Kṛishṇa

The statuette in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 171) represents the bust of Kṛishṇa with *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and *hāra*. A plain halo is beautifully carved on the back of his head. On either side, a male attendant is standing. The image came from Varanasi, and may be placed in c.5th century A.D. An image from Deogarh shows Kṛishṇa wearing his usual ornaments. He is hurtling a discus with his right hand and carries an indistinct object in the left arm. It may be assigned to c.5th century A.D. A statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 1109) represents *Bāla*-Gopāla under a tree surrounded by cow and calf. On the basis of style the image may be ascribed to the medieval period.[1]

Balarāma

According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the image of Balarāma should have a plough in his hand, with his eyes rolling, owing to the intoxication and wearing an ear-ring and having his complexion as white as conch, the moon and the lotus-stalk[2]. The *Vaikhānasāgama* prescribes that the figure of Balarāma should carry a *mūsala* in the right hand and a plough in the left. His hair should be tied up in a knot at the top.[3] The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that the Lord Saṁkarshaṇa should have the appearance of Vāsudeva with white body and blue dress. He should have the *mūsala* and plough in his hands.[4] The *Agni-Purāṇa* informs us that Balarāma should be represented as having four hands carrying a plough and *mūsala* in the left, and a *mūsala* and discus in the right hands. Or, if he has two arms, they should carry mace and plough.[5]

Balarāma is one of the earliest deities to be represented in art, and his earliest image belongs to the Śuṅga period. The sculptures in the State Museum (No. G. 215) from Mathura, and Bharat Kala Bhawan[6] represent Balarāma, standing with the left leg stretched and the right slightly turned. He wears a neck-ornament and ear-pendants, and his hair are falling over the shoulders. He has two hands holding a plough in the left and a *mūsala* in the right. The figure of the deity is canopied by snake-hoods. The sculpture with prominent and distended abdomen with massive treatment to the fleshy part of the body, indicate them to an early origin i.e. 2nd century B.C. The image corresponds to the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Vaikhānasāgama.*

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[1] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 123.
[2] LVIII, 36.
[3] *EHI*, I, I, p. 201.
[4] III, 85, 18-22.
[5] 49, 7 ff.
[6] *ASIAR*, 1918-19, Pl. XIII.

In the Kushāṇa period, Balarāma images were frequently sculptured round about Mathura. They represent standing figure of Balarāma in *dvibhaṅga* pose, wearing a crown over the head, pendant in the left ear-lobe; while the right is without any ornament[1], armlets and necklace. He also wears a long garland and drapery. The deity is canopied by seven-hooded snake showing his association probably with Nāga worship. He holds a *madaka* (wine-cup) in the left hand and the right one is raised above the head (Mathura Museum Nos. C.15 and C.19) or held in *abhayamudrā* (No.17.1325). The pestle and the mace are carved separately on the relief. This particular relief partly agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa* in having mace in one of his hands. The Bharat Kala Bhawan image (No.279) also shows a figure similar to that of C.15. The image No.C.19 is very interesting, as a staff (or plough?) is carved to the left of the deity, surmounted by a lion. In the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Saṁkarshaṇa has been equated with Nṛisiṁha[2], and probaly this identification might be associated to Balarāma-Saṁkarshaṇa with lion, as seen in this image.

It is almost certain that Balarāma continued to retain the same popularity in the Gupta period. A new type of image with four-arms was introduced in this era. The broken torso of Balarāma from Mathura (No.14.15.435) shows the suppleness of the Gupta art. The deity is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, and wears *vanamālā*, *ekāvalī* and other usual ornaments. The coils of the snake are visible on the background. The deity is two-armed. He holds a wine cup in his left hand and the right one is broken. The image may be assigned to c.5th century A.D. Another sculpture in the same Museum (No.299) consists of a lower portion of the torso of a male figure who can be identified with Balarāma, since he carries a *mūsala*, the traces of which may be seen on the right side. The figure partly agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, and may be dated to c.5th century A.D.

Four-armed deity

The image of four-armed Balarāma (Mathura No.1399) is shown as usual with one of his left hands broken. The upper right hand is raised above the head as in the Kushāṇa images. The other right hand carries a *mūsala*. The remaining left hand holds a wine-cup. The image may be assigned to c. 5th century A.D. The sculpture partly tallies with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*, since the deity has four arms but the attributes widely differ except the *mūsala* with the present text. This particular image almost resembles with the four-armed Balarāma from Paharapur.[1] Another sculpture in the same Museum (No. U.98) shows the four-armed deity standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. His dress, ornaments and snake-canopy are shown as usual. He holds a *mūsala* in the back right hand, a wine-cup in the front right, a plough in the back left and the front left is held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to the later Gupta period. It generally agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

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[1] The reference to a single ear-ring is available in the *Mahābhārata-Śalyaparva*, 37, 14 and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *op. cit.*

[2] III, 78, 7.

The four-armed images of Balarāma were continued in the medieval period. A statuette from Mathura (No. 1116) shows the four-armed deity with his usual ornaments. He carries a pestle, a plough and a wine-cup in his hands and the fourth one is resting on the thigh. The pestle and plough in the hands of the deity correspond with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. Another relief from Mathura (No.R.46) depicts similar figure of Balarāma which is to be assigned in the medieval period. The frieze from Garhwa Fort, Allahabad, represents Balarāma standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose. The deity wears a crown, ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, girdle, *vanamālā* and anklets. The back right hand of the deity is raised upward and the front hand is placed on the thigh. A pestle is placed beside this hand. The deity carries a plough in the back left hand, while the front one is broken. A devotee is shown below. The image partly tallies with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*, and may be assigned to the medieval period (Fig. 45). The *Daśāvatāra* panel in Mathura Museum (No.68.3) represents Balarāma with four hands, holding plough, club and a cup, and the left hand being placed on the thigh.[2]

A sculpture in the State Museum (No. H. 114) shows a remarkable figure, which according to R.D. Banerjee represents the image of Vishṇu.[3] But the notable feature of the image is the two arms which are broken. Moreover, below the right arm the traces of a *mūsala* are noticed, which confirm the identity of the deity as Balarāma. The deity is standing in *tribhaṅga*, pose and wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace. *vanamālā*, holy-thread, and bears the

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1. S.K. Sarasvati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 119, Fig. 11.
2. *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 2, pp. 56-57, Fig. 3.
3. *State Museum Catalogue*.

mark *Śrīvatsa* on his chest. Two male figures, a male and female devotees, Śiva, Brahmā and another figure of Balarāma are carved in the relief. The image may be assigned to c.10th century A.D. It partly meets with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[1] A statue in the Mathura Museum (No. 1515) represents Balarāma in *tribhaṅga* pose. He wears frizzled locks, *nāgendra-kuṇḍalas.*, *mekhalā* with pearl-stringed tassels falling on both thighs and *uru-bandha* scarf. His right hand is held on the thigh and broken left on the hip. The traces of snake-canopy are clear on the head of the deity. Another image from Mathura (No. 3210) shows a somewhat similar figure of Balarāma. These sculptures may be placed in c. 10th century A.D.

Balarāma with a *chakra*—The image from Mathura (No.10.136) is very interesting, since it represents the deity with a *chakra*. Balarāma is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, and wears his usual ornaments. A snake-canopy is shown over his head. The remarkable feature of the image is that he carries a *chakra* in his right hand and the left is hanging down. The *Agni-Purāṇa* mentions *chakra* in the right hand of the deity but it is to be carried over in case of the four arms.[2] However, this particular image is only two-armed and holds a *chakra*.

Balarāma-līlā scene- A sculpture from Bharat Kala Bhawan (No.20088) represents the scene of shortening the size of Revatī by Balarāma. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* records that Revatī who was born in *Satyayuga*, was taken by her father to *Brahmaloka* for enquiring about her would be consort from Brahmā. However, he was compelled to wait for a better opportunity as he was engaged in the music-traits. Moreover, when he asked about her consort from Brahmā, he told him that two *yuga's* time had passed out and now in this *Dvāparayuga*, no other match will be suitable for her except Balarāma. Thereupon, Revatī was married to Balarāma but she was of much larger size than him and so he made her of shorter stature by thrashing his plough over her.[3] This legend is depicted in this particular sculpture. Balarāma wearing his usual ornaments, is thrashing a plough over her shoulders for shortening her stature. Revatī is seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal, and she is shown as concealing her breast by her left hand. She wears *keśa-bandha*, ear-rings necklace, armlets, anklets and girdle. A male and female attendants are seated beside her. Stylistically, the sculpture may be placed in c. 10th century A.D.

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1. *Supra*.
2. 49, 7 ff,
3. X, 52.

The Buddha

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that the image of the Buddha should be made like that of Vishṇu and on a chariot like that of Bhauma.[1] According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*, Buddha should have fair complexion, sitting on a lotus-flower. His ears should be longer, and the calmness of the heart should be made to reflect on his countenance.[2]

The Buddha incaranation of Vishṇu is noticed on the bas-reliefs of the main sculpture representing Vishṇu, exclusively in the medieval period. The sculptures in the Mathura Museum (No. D.21) and State Museum (Nos.42.189, H.107 and H.108, etc.) represent such depiction of the Buddha incarnation on the upper or lower panels. The deity is seated in *padmāsana*, and wears cloth in *upavīta* fashion, and has *ushṇiśa* on the top of the head with curly hair. His countenance shows peaceful physiognony, and his both hands are held in *yogic* posture. The figures correspond with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. The *Daśāvatāra* panel in the Mathura Museum (No.68.3) represents the seated Buddha on a high ornamented cushioned wicker like stool of lotus petals in the attitude of meditation, and wearing a *saṅghāti*. The remarkable feature of the image is the portrayal of *Śrivatsa* symbol on the chest of the Buddha which is a rare and novel feature in the Buddhist iconography.[3]

Kalki

The *Agni-Purāṇa* records that Kalki should carry bow and arrow, and should ride on a horse; or carry sword, arrow, discus and conch.[4]

Kalki is the tenth incarnation which will take place in future. His image is found on the bas-reliefs of sculptures representing Vishṇu. Images in the Mathura Museum (No.D.21) and State Museum (Nos.42.189; H. 107 and H.108, etc.) represent Kalki incarnation along with other *avatāras*. The deity is seated on the caprisoned-horse, and carries a sword in his right hand. He wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, neck-ornament, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*. Stylistically, these images may be assigned to the medieval period. These images partly correspond with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. The *Daśāvatāra* panel in the Mathura Museum (No.68.3) shows defaced figure of Kalki riding on a horse. The deity carries a staff in his right hand and is shown slightly half-turned to the right. The image belongs to c. 8th century A.D.[1]

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[1] III, 69, 2-3.

[2] 49, 8.

[3] *Op. cit*

[4] 49, 9-10.

Chaturviṁśati Mūrtis

Vishṇu has a thousand names described in the *Vishṇusahasranāma* in the *Anuśāsanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] Twenty-four among them are considered to be the most important, and are sung in priase of the lord. The twenty-four forms of Vishṇu are sub-divided in accordance with the different arrangements of attributes, i.e. conch, discus, mace and lotus in their hands. The *Agni-Purāṇa* gives a detailed description of twenty-four images but the attributes of Hari and Padmanābha are similar.[3] The *Padma-Purāṇa* records the complete list of twenty-four images but the attributes of Keśava and Pradyumna, and Padmanābha and Purushottama are similarly described.[4] The later text, such as *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* neither refers to the image of Kṛishṇa and nor mentions the attributes of Keśava.[5] The *Devatā-Mūrti-Prakaraṇa* prescribes similar attributes for several forms of the deity.[6] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* is the only text which describes all the twenty-four forms without any repetition in their attributes.[7] It enumerates the following twenty-four forms of Vishṇu:-

S. No.	Name of Mūrti	Back right hand	Back left hand	Front left hand	Front right hand
1.	Keśava	Śaṁkha	Chakra	Gadā	Padma
2.	Nārāyaṇa	Padma	Gadā	Chakra	Śaṁkha
3.	Mādhava	Chakra	Śaṁkha	Padma	Gadā
4.	Govinda	Gadā	Padma	Śaṁkha	Chakra
5.	Vishṇu	Padma	Śaṁkha	Chakra	Gadā
6.	Madhusūdana	Śaṁkha	Padma	Gadā	Chakra
7.	Trivikrama	Gadā	Chakra	Śaṁkha	Padma
8.	Vāmana	Chakra	Gadā	Padma	Śaṁkha

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1. *Op. cit.*
2. 149 *Adh.*
3. *Adh.* 48. ff.
4. *Pātāla Khaṇḍa*, 78, 16-27.
5. *Brata-Khaṛda-Adh.* I ff.
6. V, 8-13.
7. III, 9-21.

S. No.	Name of Mūrti	Back-right hand	Back left hand	Front left hand	Front right hand
9.	Srīdhara	Chakra	Gadā	Śaṁkha	Padma
10.	Hṛishīkesha	Chakra	Padma	Śaṁkha	Gadā
11.	Padmanābha	Padma	Chakra	Gadā	Śaṁkha
12.	Dāmodara	Śaṁkha	Gadā	Chakra	Padma
13.	Saṁkarshaṇa	Śaṁkha	Padma	Chakra	Gadā
14.	Vāsudeva	Śaṁkha	Chakra	Padma	Gadā
15.	Pradyumna	Śaṁkha	Gadā	Padma	Chakra
16.	Aniruddha	Gadā	Śaṁkha	Padma	Chakra
17.	Purushottama	Padma	Śaṁkha	Gadā	Chakra
18.	Adhokshaja	Gadā	Śaṁkha	Chakra	Padma
19.	Nṛisiṁha	Padma	Gadā	Śaṁkha	Chakra
20.	Achyuta	Padma	Chakra	Śaṁkha	Gadā
21.	Janārdana	Chakra	Śaṁkha	Gadā	Padma
22.	Upendra	Gadā	Chakra	Padma	Śaṁkha
23.	Hari	Chakra	Padma	Gadā	Śaṁkha
24.	Śrī Kṛishṇa	Gadā	Padma	Chakra	Śaṁkha

Among Chaturviṁśati mūrties, Śrīdhara form of Vishṇu is noticed in this region at Baijnath, Almora, in the plastic art which can be assigned to c.8th-9th century A.D. on the ground of the style. The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *Vaijayantī-mālā*, necklace, bracelets, anklets, *aṅgada, valaya* and *yajñopavita*. He has four arms holding *chakra* in the back right hand, *gadā* in the back left, *śaṁkha* in the front left and *padma* in the front right. On the right and left sides of the deity, *chakra* and *śaṁkhapurushas* are standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with their respective emblems. Brahmā, Śiva and Lakshmī along with Medhā are carved in the relief. The sculpture perfectly agrees with the description of Śrīdhara found in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. The image is almost identical with the figure of Śrīdhara found in Nepal.[1]

MINOR AVATĀRAS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF VISHṆU

The minor *avatāras* and manifestations of Vishṇu, as noticed in this region, are classified as such.

1. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha
2. Haryardha

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[1] Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, Pl. VI.

3. Vaikuṇṭha
4. Viśvarūpa
5. Nara-Nārāyaṇa
6. Karivarada
7. Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
8. Hayagrīva

The first and second forms of Vishṇu i.e. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha and Haryardha will be described along with other syncretic images.

Vaikuṇṭha Mūrti

The *Vishṇudharmottara* prescribes that the four *vyūhas* of Vishṇu viz., Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, should combindly form the image of Vaikuṇṭha. It is, further, stated there that he should have four faces—the eastern with peaceful countenance, the southern *jñānamukha* similar to lion's face and the western *Aiśvarya* face with a terrific look. The northern face is not described here.[1] In another verse, he is referred to as having four faces and eight arms. The eastern face is called Saumya, southern Nṛisiṁha, western Kapila and northern Varāha, and the deity carries in his right hands an arrow, a rosary, a club and in the left a hide-cloth and the bow; the attributes of the other two hands are not indicated[2]. The *Aparājitapṛichchha*[3] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[4] have almost similar descriptions of the Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti. According to these texts, the image of Vaikuṇṭha should have four faces and eight hands. He should be seated on Garuḍa. His eastern face should be of man, southern of Nṛisiṁha, western of a woman and nothern of Varāha.

About half-a dozen Vaikuṇṭha images are noticed in the Mathura Museum, and a stray sculpture representing the bust of the deity is found at Deogarh, the centre of the Gupta art. These images exclusively belong to the Gupta period, and consist of a central head of a man and side heads of lion and boar. They are four-armed and carry the usual attributes similar to the Vishṇu images of the Gupta period. V.S. Agrawala identifies the three-headed deity as Mahā-Vishṇu.[5] But his identification is incorrect in view of the description in the *Vishṇudharmottara* on which basis J.N. Banerjea rightly identified this deity as Vaikuṇṭha.[1]

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[1] III, 85, 43-45,
[2] III, 44, 8-13.
[3] 219, 25-27.
[4] III, 52-54.
[5] *Indian Art*, p. 255.

The Deogarh sculpture represents the bust of Vaikuṇṭha with three faces, the centre one of Vishṇu with *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, the southern face of Varāha and the northern face of Nṛisiṁha. He carries a lotus flower in the left hand, while other hands are broken. The image may be assigned to c. 5th-6th century A.D. The Mathura image (No. D. 28) is better preserved and shows Vaikuṇṭha with similar faces, standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. He wears a long *vanamālā* and *ekāvalī* in his neck, and has four arms, the back two of which are preserved. The lower left hand carries a *chakra* placed on the back of a pot-bellied male figure standing with crossed-hands, representing *chakrapurusha* who agrees partly with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara.*[2] The lower right hand of the deity rests on the top of *gadā*, placed upside down. A female representing *kaumodakī*, is standing infront of him with folded hands. The *Vishṇudharmottara*[3] states her position on the right side of the deity as depicted here. The portraiture of *āyudhapurushas* is a novel feature of the Gupta age,[4] and they are sculptured on the several images of Vishṇu of this period and later on.

The other Vaikuṇṭha images in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 771, 2480, 2503 and 2525), are partly damaged but they represent a common feature of having a human face in the centre, a lion face on the right and a boar face on the left (No. 2525), and in certain cases this position is interchanged (No. 771). The human face represents Vishṇu figure, wearing an artistic *Kirīṭamukuṭa* decorated with rampant lions and pearl-festoons and a central *chintāmaṇi*. The ornaments consist of ear-rings, *ekāvalī* (pearl-necklace), armlets, double-wound chain-girdle, a long *Vaijayantīmālā* and *yajñopavīta.* An image from this region exhibited in the National Museum (No. 67.161), represents the three heads of Vaikuṇṭha (Fig. 46). These images partly agree with the description of the *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā* which prescribes four arms for the deity with a mace, discus, conch and lotus.[5]

It appears that Vaikuṇṭha image evolved from that of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, with four arms holding conch, lotus, mace and discus. The same attributes also persist in the present form of the deity with the addition of lion and boar faces.

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[1] *DHI*, p. 409.
[2] III, 85, 13-14.
[3] III, 85, 11-12.
[4] *DHI*, p, 537.
[5] VI, 73-74.

Vaikunṭha image indicates an early stage in the development of Viśvarūpa image with similar faces and several hands along with other divinities surrounding the god. In all probablity the conception of Vaikunṭha image formulated the background for Viśvarūpa after the additions of more gods and goddesses, for postulating its *Virāṭa* form.

Viśvarūpa

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that Viśvarūpa should have four faces, above which should be Maheśvara face. Above them, should be the Brāhmī face, after which other faces should be placed upwards in a curved line. One should make the faces of all the gods and others. He should be shown devouring every thing. Auspicious and inauspicious faces, belonging to all the creatures, should also be depicted. Some of the hands of the deity should be in dancing pose; others may carry sacrificial *śruva* and pots and the remaining hands should be provided with all sorts of weapons.[1] According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*[2] and the *Āgamas,*[3] Viśvarūpa should have four faces and twenty hands, and should be made to ride upon the Garuḍa. In the left hands, he should carry staff, noose, mace, sword, lotus, *śriṅga*, pestle and rosary. In the right hands, he should hold plough, conch, *vajra, aṅkuśa,* arrow, discus and a lime fruit, and the front right hand should be in the *varada* pose. The remaining one right and the corresponding left hands should be outstretched in *patākahasta* pose and another of the right hands and its corresponding left should be held in the *yogamudrā*.

The image of Viśvarūpa was first sculptured in the Gupta period. The Deogarh sculpture represents the deity standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with a central human-face wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa,* a Varāha face on the left and Nṛisiṁha on the right executed similarly as in the Vaikunṭha form but with more elaboration. He wears *ekāvalī, vanamālā,* bracelets and anklets. The deity is six-armed and carries a sword and lotus in the right hands; the other one is broken and a shield, conch and discus in the left hands. Over his crown, Brahmā and two other mutilated heads (Maheśvara) are carved. The numerous divinities, such as, Sanka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Śiva, Aśvinī-Kumāras, Indra, Yama, Lakshmī and other figures are beautifully carved. The image may be assigned to c. 5th-6th century A.D. The image No. 2989 in the Mathura

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[1] III, 83, 1-10.

[2] 49, 20-24.

[3] *EHI*, I. I, p. 258.

Museum shows similarly the bust of Viśvarūpa with a circular stele at the back of the head which is carved with a number of divine figures. It can be placed in c. 5th-6th century A.D. on the basis of style. These images partly agree with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara.*

A medieval sculpture from Baijnath, Almora, represents a fine image of Viśvarūpa with complete elaboration. The deity is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, wearing tiara, ear-ring in the left lobe and *nakra-kuṇḍala* in the right, necklace, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavita.* The faces are shown with boar and lion's face, and he has eight arms. In his left arms are held a shield, discus, bow and conch and in the right a bow, sword and mace, while the front right hand is shown in the *abhaya* pose. Aśvinī-Kumāras, Śiva, Dikpālas and Navagrahas are artistically carved on the upper panel. On his left, the bewildered Arjuna is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with the left leg slightly raised. His left hand is held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose and the right one raised in great amazement. On the right side of the deity, Lakshmī is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with a lotus and *chāmara* in her hands. Below, *Pātāla-loka* is shown by depicting Ādiśesha and his consort who is supporting the feet of the Lord. The sculpture is complete and almost corresponds to the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara.* The State Museum sculpture (No. H. 124) shows similar Viśvarūpa figure with eight arms holding almost similar attributes. It slightly varies in depicting two boar heads on the left side and a lion and boar heads on the right. A male figure is supporting the quiver of arrows held by the deity. Indra, a seated ape, Brahmā and Revanta are also executed. The sculpture came from Manawadih (Sitapur), and belongs to c. 8th-9th century A.D. The image from Kanauj represents similar Viśvarūpa deity with eight arms carrying similar attributes, and wearing the same dress and ornaments (Fig. 47). But this image is more elaborate, suave in artistic disposition, bearing plasticity, and is a unique piece of art of the Gurjara-Pratihāra's time. A somewhat similar image of the deity with broken head and hands is noticed at Varanasi.

Nara-Nārāyaṇa

The *Mahābhārata* states that Arjuna and Kṛishṇa were born as Nara-Nārāyaṇa in their former incarnations. These sages lived together in *Badri* on the *Himālayas,* and practised austerities, and had divine powers and acted together. It is further, stated that Nara-Nārāyaṇa were supreme among men, and the world was controlled by their power[1]. They defeated Dambodbhava who tried to disturb them. Moreover, Nara-Nārāyaṇa are said to have been the most excellent *ṛishis* practising penances, radiating bright splendour, bearing the *Śrivatsa* mark, wearing a coiffured *jaṭā-jūṭa*, web-footed and web-armed, with a mark of the *chakra* on their feet, broad-shouldered, long-armed with broad-foreheads, and handsome brows, chins and noses with beautiful countenances, and were worshipped by Nārada[2]. The story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is also narrated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[3].

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara,* the image of Nara should be green like *dūrva* grass, and have two strong hands. Nārāyaṇa should possess four arms and have blue-lotus complexion. Both should be seated under a *badara* tree, holding rosary in their hands, and be clad in black deer-skin and wear *jaṭāmukuṭa.* Hari should be like Nara and Kṛishṇa should resemble Nārāyaṇa.[4]

The deity is introduced in the Gupta period for the first time in the plastic art. The panel in Deogarh temple is an unique piece of art of the Gupta age. The figures of Nara-Nārāyaṇa are seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal under a *badara* tree, wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa* and *jaṭābhāra* respectively, and deer-skin. The figure of Nara is shown with two arms carrying a rosary in his raised (*abhaya* pose) right hand and the left held in *bhūsparśamudrā.* The figure of Nārāyaṇa is four-armed, carrying in the back right hand a rosary; the front right is held in *jñāna-mudrā*, the front left hand has a *kamaṇḍalu* and the back left a ladle (?). Below them, deer and a lion are seated. An ascetic on either side, Brahmā and a pair of Vidyādharas are also executed in the relief. The figures of the deities almost correspond with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara.* Another panel at Varāha temple, Deogarh shows the exact replica of the previous Nara-Nārāyaṇa frieze, in which both are seated in *lalitāsana,* bearing similar objects and *mudrās* of hands. The figures of Brahmā, ascetics and Vidyādharas are similarly carved. The difference lies in the artistic approach towards style which is inferior and crude. It seems that the mechanical repetition is carried on with lesser artistic conception. The artist tried to copy the frieze but failed to reach that standard of workmanship which was the basis of the Gupta art. However, on the basis of style the panel may be assigned to c. 7th-8th century A.D.

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[1] *Vanaparva*, 147, 22 ; 157, 10.

[2] *Śāntiparva*, 343, 34-39.

[3] XI, 4.

[4] III, 76, 1-5.

Karivarada

According to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[1], Gajendra the lord of elephants, entered a pond near Trikuṭa hill to quell his thirst. As he got down into the water, a crocodile caught one of the legs of the elephant. The elephant struggled long for his liberation, but to no avail. Completely exhausted, the elephant at last prayed Vishṇu for help with a lotus flower in his trunk. Vishṇu instantly appeared on the scene riding on a Garuḍa, killed the crocodile with his discus and saved the life of Gajendra. This scene depicted in the sculpture is known as Karivarada or Varadarāja. The image of Vishṇu should be riding on Garuḍa with his usual ornaments and attributes. Gajendra should be shown below with a lotus-stalk in his trunk and a crocodile (particularly in Deccan, such figures are sculptured) is apprehending with teeth the legs of Gajendra.[2]

A few sculptures representing Karivarada form of Vishṇu are located at Deogarh and in a terracotta plaque at Bhitargaon. The frieze on the Gupta temple at Deogarh, depicts Karivarada form of Vishṇu who is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on the flying Garuḍa. He wears a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *ekāvalī* with *Kaustubha*, ear-pendants, armlets, anklets and *yajñopavīta*, and carries a mace in the front right hand; the back right hand is raised in the pose of the hurtling a *chakra*, while the front left hand is resting on the knee, and the last one is broken. Below, the Gajendra is standing in the water (shown with the full-bloomed lotuses and buds arranged artistically) apprehended by Grāha in the form of a snake. He holds a lotus flower to be offered to the deity in his raised trunk. Beside him, the Nāga and his consort are shown in human forms with folded hands and bearing a snake-canopy. A pair of Vidyādharas are carved with a crown on their hands. The entire frieze is finely worked out in the plastic conception of c. 5th-6th century A.D. Another frieze at Varāha temple, Deogarh, representing the Gaja-uddhāra scene, is an exact copy of the above panel. The figure of Vishṇu is similarly seated on Garuḍa, holding similar attributes. Gajendra is being apprehended by the Nāga and his consort in the usual fashion. Actually, the entire frieze is the exact replica of the Gupta panel but it lacks that endeavour and inherent quality which invigorate the entire art of the golden age. The lack of plastic conception in the creation of the flimsy figures, the mere repetition of the frieze and the crude handling of the workmanship indicate a later date for it, say about c. 7th-8th century A.D. (Fig. 48).

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[1] VIII, 2-4.

[2] *EHI*, p. 268.

Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that the goddess Lakshmī should be near Hari in divine form, fair, wearing white garments and all her ornaments, and should have two hands carrying lotuses in them[1]; or she should be seated on the lap of the Lord, or on Garuḍa.[2] According to the *Āgamas*, Vishṇu as Nārāyaṇa is represented in the company of Lakshmī who is usually shown on the left of the god. She has thrown her right hand round the neck of Nārāyaṇa in *āliṅganamudrā* whose left hand in turn embraces the goddess round her waist. Lakshmī should hold a lotus in her left hand. The *āyudha-purushas* (*śaṁkha* and *chakra*), Brahmā, Śiva and Garuḍa should also be sculptured.[3] The sculptures representing Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, as noticed in this region can be summed in the four groups :

(a) Sthānaka Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
(b) Āsana Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
(c) Garuḍāsana Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
(d) Lakshmī-Sahita Nārāyaṇa Mūrti.

Sthānaka Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

A sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 652) represents the *sthānaka mūrti* of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa in *tribhaṅga* pose. The deity wears his usual ornaments, and is shown in *āliṅganamudrā*. The goddess is gazing at Vishṇu with love and admiration. The deity holds a conch and discus in the front and back left hands and also embraces his consort by one of this hand. He carries a mace in the back right hand, while the front right hand is held in the *varada* pose. *Chakrapurusha* is standing on the left and a *chauri*-bearer on the right. The sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. It partly agrees with the description of the *Āgamas*. A sculpture from Katarmal, Almora, represents similar *sthānakamūrti* of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa in *tribhaṅga* pose. The deity wears a *Kiriṭamukuṭa*, necklace, *makara-kuṇḍala*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra*, *Vaijayantī-mālā*, and carries a lotus-stalk in the back right hand, a discus in the back left, and embraces the goddess with the front left hand; the fourth one is broken. Lakshmī wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-rings, neck-ornament, and holds a lotus flower in her left hand and embraces the god with the right one. On either side of the god, *padma* and *śaṁkhapurushas* are standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, and on the left recessed corner *chakrapurusha* is shown. Brahmā, two devotees and a Nāga figure are also carved in the relief. The sculpture broadly agrees with the description of the *Āgamas* and also partly with the *Vishṇudharmottara.* It may be dated back to c. 12th century A.D. (Fig. 49).

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[1] III, 82, 2-3.
[2] III, 85, 48.
[3] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 258-59.

Āsana Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

An image in the Allahabad Museum (No. 856) represents Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, wearing their usual ornaments, and seated on a pedestal. The deities have pleasing faces. The goddess Lakshmī is seated on the left lap of the deity. She carries a lotus flower in her left hand and embraces her consort with the right one. The hands of the god are broken. Garuḍa is seated below (c. 10th century A.D.). The sculpture partly concords with the description of *Vishṇudharmottara.* The fragment of an image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa in the State Museum (No. 156) represents only Lakshmī. She is seated on the lap of her spouse, and holds a lotus in her hand. One hand of Vishṇu holds a conch over her head, and to the left a male is seated on a bracket (c. 10th century A.D.). A similar image (No. H. 160) representing this form is also noticed in the same Museum. These sculptures broadly correspond with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara.*

Garuḍāsana Mūrti of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

The statue from Jageshwar, Almora, represents Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa seated on Garuḍa (personified human form), wearing their usual ornaments. The deity holds a conch and lotus in the front and back right hands, a discus in the back left and embraces the goddess with the front left hand. Lakshmī is adorned with a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, girdle and anklets. She is seated on the lap of her spouse with a lotus in her left hand and embraces the god with the right one. Garuḍa is holding the feet of the Lord. The image is carved in accordance with the *Vishṇudharmottara.* It may be dated back to c. 10th century A.D. A similar image is also noticed at Baijnath.

Another image from Jageshwar represents almost similar image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa with minor variation of the attribute in the back left hand of the deity, which carries a mace, instead of discus as in the previous case (c. 10th-11th century A.D.). An image in the State Museum (No. G. 225) depicts the deities seated in *āliṅganamudrā* on Garuḍa who has moustaches and beard, and puts on a fan-shaped turban. The attributes of the god are similar except for the mace in the back right hand. Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhūdevī, Śiva, Rāma, Kūrma and Matsya figures are beautifully carved in the relief. The sculpture partly meets the description of the *Āgamas*,[1] and may be assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D. The sculpture from Chandpur, Jhansi shows Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa seated on Garuḍa, similarly. Vishṇu carries a mace and conch in the back and front right hands, and embraces his consort with the left one; the last hand is damaged. The image corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara,* and may be dated to c.10th-11th century A.D.

Lakshmī Sahita Nārāyaṇa Mūrti

The statue from Chandpur is interesting in representing this form in which *āliṅgana* pose is nots hown. Another remarkable feature is that Vishṇu has only two arms, instead of four. The figure of the deity is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, wearing his usual ornaments. He carries a mace in the left hand and discus in the right. Beside him, Lakshmī is also standing similarly in *dvibhaṅga* pose with her usual ornaments. She holds a cluster of lotus-stalks in her right hand and the left is resting on the thigh. A female attendant is standing beside her with a jar and *chāmara* in her hands. The figure of Nāga (Ādiśesha) is shown with folded hands. The image may be assigned to c. 12th century A.D. on the basis of the style. The image almost corresponds with the prescription of the *Vishṇudharmottara* which also mentions two-armed Vishṇu.[2]

Hayagrīva

The *Devī-Bhāgavata*[3] tells us that the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha started troubling the gods after receiving boons that they would not be killed by man or beast. The gods implored the mercy of *Devī* who directed them to request Vishṇu to be born upon earth with the face of horse and the body of a man in order to kill the demons. Thereupon, the gods prayed to Vishṇu who accordingly, incarnated in a form, half-horse and half-man, known as Hayagrīva. Afterwards, he destroyed the demons. This god Hayagrīva is looked upon as the god of learning. The *Mahābhārata*[1] also narrates the story of the killing the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha by Hayagrīva and the recovery of the *Vedas* from them.

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[1] *Supra.*

[2] III, 60.2: The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* also describes a two-armed form of Vishṇu, (LVIII, 31).

[3] I, 4. ff.

The *Vishṇudharmottara*[2] records that the feet of Hayagrīva should be placed in the outstretched palms of the goddess earth. He should have a human body but with the face of a horse. He should possess eight arms; four of them should carry conch, discus, lotus and mace endowed with forms and the rest four should be placed upon the heads of the personified form of the four *Vedas*. The figure of Hayagrīva should be adorned with ornaments. According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*, Hayagrīva should hold a conch, mace, lotus and the *Vedas* in his four hands. His left leg should be placed on Ananta and the right on the tortoise.[3]

The sculpture from Chandpur, Jhansi represents the figure of Hayagrīva with the horse face and human body. The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing a crown, necklace, ear-rings, armlets, anklets, girdle, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*. He is four-armed, carrying a conch and discus in the front left and right hands, respectively and the two back-hands are lost. Four-faced Brahmā, Śiva, a pair of Vidyādharas, male attendants and other figures are carved artistically in relief. On the basis of style, the sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The image partly agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

Miscellaneous Images of Vishṇu

A sculpture from Chandpur is very interesting on account of the two figures of Vishṇu, standing side by side in *tribhaṅga* pose. Both the figures are wearing a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, bracelets, anklets, *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*, and have four arms. The attributes are similar in both the images but are shown in different hands. The figure of Vishṇu on the left carries a mace and discus in the lower and upper left hands and a conch in a upper right; while the lower right hand is held in *varada* pose. The figure of the deity on the right holds a conch and mace in the lower and upper left hands and a discus in the upper right; the lower right hand is similarly held in *varada* pose. The remarkable feature of the sculpture is an altar placed in between the two figures (Fig. 50). So far we could not come across with the textual description of such images of Vishṇu and as such, their identification is uncertain. However, it may represent two forms of *Chaturviṁśati mūrti*. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to c. 11th century A.D.

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[1] *Śāntiparva*, 347, 5-78.

[2] III, 80, 1-6.

[3] 49, 26.

Garuḍa and Āyudhapurushas

The *Mahābhārata* gives us an account of Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Vishṇu. He was born to Kaśyapa and Vinatā, and was the younger brother of Aruṇa, the charioteer of the sun-god Sūrya.[1] The *Vishṇudharmottara* records that Tārkshya (Garuḍa) should be made four-armed, two of which should be joined in *añjali* pose and the others should carry *chhatra* and *amṛita-ghaṭa*. He should have circular eyes and face, two wings, and have the legs and thighs of a vulture.[2] The *Śilparatna* states that Garuḍa may be sculptured separately or along with Vishṇu. If he is sculptured separately, his beak and legs should be those of kite and eyes roundish. He should have a pair of powerful wings, flabby belly, and four arms, carrying an umbrella and *amṛita-ghaṭa* in two hands; the other two are held in *añjali* pose, If associated with Vishṇu, he should have either two hands, supporting the feet of the god, or eight.[3] According to *Śri-Tatva-Nidhi*, Garuḍa should be kneeling on his left knee. His crown should be adorned with snakes. His nose should be pointed and raised, knees stout, and he should have the face and body of human beings. He should have only two hands held in *añjali* pose.[4]

The images of Garuḍa can be classified in three groups:—

(a) Garuḍa as *vāhana* of Vishṇu or Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
(b) Representation of Garuḍa on the relief of Vishṇu image.
(c) Independent Image of Garuḍa.

Garuḍa as vāhana of Vishṇu

The Gaja-uddhāra panel in the Gupta temple, Deogarh, represents Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa who is shown in flying attitude and personified human form.

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[1] *Ādiparva*, 23-34 *Adh.*
[2] III, 85, 46 ; III, 54, 2-4.
[3] *EHI*, I, I, p. 285.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

He wears curly hair, a snake around his neck, ear-rings and wristlets. He has strong wings and slender body, raising his right hand up to chest (probably holding certain indistinct object) and the left is resting on the knee. The figure of Garuḍa partly corresponds with the description of the *Śilparatna*, and may be assigned to c. 6th century A.D.

Garuḍa as vāhana of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa

Garuḍa (anthropomorphic form) as mount to Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, is shown with beard and moustaches, and wears a fan-shaped turban, a snake around his neck and ear-pendants (State Museum No. G. 225). He is also shown as holding the feet of the Lord and his consort (Baijnath). Or, Garuḍa is represented with combed hair, ear-rings, necklace and without moustaches, holding the feet of the deity in the usual fashion (Jageshwar). In another image (Chandpur), he wears a *yajñopavīta*, double-band necklace, tight dress, and holds the foot of Vishṇu with the right hand and carries a snake in the left arm-pit. Lakshmī has planted her left foot over the hood of this snake. Garuḍa is invariably two-armed in these sculptures which are assignable to the medieval period. These figures of Garuḍa almost correspond with the prescriptions of the *Śilparatna* and *Śrī-Tatva-Nidhi*[1].

Representation of Garuḍa on the relief of Vishṇu Images

Almost all the images of Vishṇu (Mathura Museum No. D. 35 and State Museum No. H. 107 etc.) show the figure of Garuḍa in anthropomorphic form on the pedestal. He wears a neck-ornament, ear-pendants and armlets, and is shown in flying attitude. The hands of Garuḍa are shown in *añjali* pose. These figures concords with *Śrī-Tatva-Nidhi*, and may be assigned to the medieval period.

Independent Image of Garuḍa

A sculpture from Baijnath shows the deity with a peculiar head-dress consisting of a double-pearl linings with a central diadem, ear-pendants, necklace, armlets, *yajñopavīta*, *valaya* and has beard and moustaches. His clothes are flying due to his fast speed. He is shown in *añjali* pose, carrying probably a *chakra* (?) in between the palms. The sculpture belongs to the medieval period, and corresponds with the text of *Śrī-Tatva-Nidhi* (Fig. 51).

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[1] Supra.

Āyudhapurushas

The various weapons such as *vajra*, *śakti*, staff, sword, noose, *aṅkuśa*, mace, trident, lotus, discus, conch and *dhvaja*, the attributes of Vishṇu, Śiva and other gods are personified under *āyudhapurushas*. Some of them are represented as males, others as females and some as eunuchs. *Śakti* and *gadā* are personified as female figures; *aṅkuśa*, noose, trident, *vajra*, sword and staff as males and *chakra* and *padma* as eunuchs. *Āyudhapurushas* should have only one face with a pair of eyes, wearing *karaṇḍamukuṭa* over the head. They should have only two hands either in *añjali* pose, if so, the particular weapon which each of them is intended to represent is shown over the crown worn on the head, or with the weapon placed between the hands.[1] According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, *gadā* should be shown as a female figure with large gluteals. She should have slender waist adorned with ornaments and should carry a *chāmara* in her hands. The right hand of Vishṇu should be placed on the head of *gadā-devī*. *Śaṁkha* should be shown as a white male figure with pretty eyes, carrying conch in one of his hands. *Padma* also should be represented similarly. *Chakra* should be depicted as a male figure with drooping belly and carrying *chāmara* in one of his hands. The left hand of Vishṇu should be placed on the head of *chakrapurusha*.[2]

The *āyudhapurushas*, representing *śaṁkha*, *chakra*, *padma* and *gadā* are frequently associated with the image of Vishṇu. The evolution of the figures of *āyudhapurusha* can be traced from the Gupta period,[3] in which they are represented mostly bare-armed with no particular emblem even on their crown as prescribed in the text. The hands are usually crossed, raised, or hanging down. However, it is somewhat difficult to ascertain their correct nature due to the lack of respective emblems but *kaumodakī* (*gadā-devī*) is atleast identified as she is represented in the female form (Anantaśayin Panel, Gupta temple, Deogarh). These four *āyudhapurushas* are standing in *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose either with hands crossed, or in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose, or as unsheathing sword (for combating Madhu-Kaiṭabha demons).

The further evolution of *gadā* and *chakrapurusha* is noticed in the Vaikunṭha mūrti of Vishṇu in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 28). On the left side of the deity, *chakrapurusha* is standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose with bare and crossed-hands. The *chakra* is placed over his head and the deity keeps his hand on it. On his right, *gadā-devī* is similarly standing with bare and crossed-hands with a mace on her back supported by one of the hands of the god. Both these sculptures belong to the Gupta period. This particular sculpture partly corresponds with the description of the *Āgamas*[1] and the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[2] The interesting feature of the image is the respective weapons placed over the head of the *āyudhapurushas* which certainly indicate a step in the evolution of their figures. A Gupta sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 292) represents similar figures of *āyudhapurushas*.

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, p. 288 ff.

[2] III, 85, 11-20.

[3] *DHI*, p. 537.

A number of medieval sculptures (Katarmal, State Museum Nos. 45·48; 45·80; 45·81; Mathura Museum Nos. D. 23 and D. 37) representing Vishṇu, as the main deity also represent *āyudhapurushas* carved in relief. They are generally standing in *tribhaṅga* pose on either side of Vishṇu, wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and anklets. They carry their particular emblems in one of the hands and the other one is placed on the hip. Their features partly correspond with the prescriptions of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Āgamas*. A medieval sculpture from Gopeshwar, district Chamoli is very interesting from the iconographic point of view. It represents *āyudhapurushas* standing with folded hands, one on either side of Vishṇu, but their respective emblems are not shown. The deity has placed his back hands on their heads. It appears from this illustration that *āyudhapurushas* were still sculptured without their respective weapons which was an usual feature of the Gupta age. Here, they may represent *chakra* and *śaṁkhapurushas*, partly agreeing with the *Vishṇudharmottara*[3].

Evolution of the ornaments and attributes of Vishṇu

Vishṇu is always shown as wearing a number of ornaments, right from the Kushāṇa period. These ornaments and attributes have evolved to new techniques with different shapes and types in the subsequent period. A further addition of ornaments on the body of the deity is also noticed in the later periods. Therefore, it seems necessary to trace their evolution from the early times.

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1. *Op. cit.*
2. III, 85, 11-20.
3. *Ibid.*

Kushāṇa period

The deity wears a few ornaments-viz. *vanamālā*, a crown, *hāra, kuṇḍalas, kaṭisūtra* and *kaṅkaṇa*, and carries a conch, mace and discus in his hands; the fourth one is shown in *varada* or *abhaya* pose. The conical diadem is simple in design and foliated with less ornamentation. The common feature of the crown is the projection on the upper part, slightly tilted to the back. The neck-ornament consists of a *hāra*, thicker in band with a gem in the centre. The ear-rings and armlets are simply executed. The conch[1] is shown like a flask which led scholars to believe that it was an *amṛitaghaṭa*,[2] or it resembles the purse of Kubera.[3] It is also represented in the palm of the deity like a sweet-ball[4], symbolising *śaṁkha-nidhi*. The mace[5] (named *kaumodakī*) is cylindrical in shape with tapering apex and looks like a *mūsala*. The discus[6] is like a wheel with spokes, exhibited in a natural disposition. The images are mostly worked out in round.

Gupta period

In this period some new symbols are introduced on the image of Vishṇu. The halo over the head of the deity is big in size, almost equal to one third of the entire figure. It is perfectly circular and frequently designed with checkered patterns, floral ornamentation and beaded-border, occasionally plain, bearing only beaded-linings. The tiara is more complex in nature with numerous artistic designs and floral ornamentation, decorated with *makarikā*[7], and was known as *Patra-Makara-Kiriṭa*[8]. It was a kind of ornamentation which consisted of two *kīrtimukhas* with flowers and leaves. The ear-rings are similarly treated but with more elaboration. *Makara-kuṇḍala, ratna-kuṇḍala* and *śirīsha-kuṇḍala* are the common types of ear-rings noticed at all times. These are artistically executed with beautiful designs. The most common neck-ornament is a single beaded necklace-*ekāvali* with a sapphire in the centre. The *vanamālā* was more naturalistic and ornate in the iconography of Vishṇu in this period[1]. It is a big garland, treated artistically from the back of the body and passes over the upper part of the arms and reaches down to the knees as prescribed in the *Vishṇudharmottara*[2]. The garland is also called *Vaijayanti*, composed of five *gems*[3] which symbolise the five basic elements. The *yajñopavita* is similarly treated in all the periods in the form of the holy-thread with certain minor variations. The drapery is extremely fine showing the sensitiveness of the soft and pliant body, and is indicated only by the ends of the folds and the waist-knots. The upper portion of the image has no garment in order to emphasise the plastic surface of the body. The conch is shown in its natural form which continues in the subsequent periods. The discus is artistically carved with more elaboration. The mace is represented with artistically designed tapering shaft and knobbed apex. The fruit is rarely associated with Vishṇu in the Gupta age.

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[1] The conch of Kṛishṇa was made of the bones of a demon named Pāñchajana, *Mbh. Droṇaparva*, 11, 20.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] The *kaumodakī* was given to Kṛishṇa by Varuṇa, *Mbh. Ādiparva*-224, 28.

[6] The *Sudarśana chakra* is the gift of Agni or Śiva to Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa-*Mbh. Anuśāsana-parva*, V, 56, 3 and I, 175, 4.

[7] V,S. Agrawala, *Harshacharita-Ek Sānskṛitika Adhyayana*, p. 14, Fig. 2.

[8] Cf. *Kādambarī-Ek Sānskṛitika Adhyayana*, p. 35.

Later Gupta period

In this period, the halo is diminishing in size. The circular shape is changing occasionally to the spherical form, with a single big flower in the centre along with petals touching its periphery. The *Kirīṭamukuṭa* is almost conical in shape with profuse ornamentation along with a square gem artistically arranged in the centre. Sometimes, the tiara is covered with beads set in linear arrangement. Apart from these novel designs, the older pattern of *mukuṭa* also continues with slight inferior workmanship. The evolution of *hāra* is traced in its several bands and more ornate character. *Kaustubhamaṇi* is clearly visible over the chest of Vishṇu. Nevertheless, the Pāla school is still following the Gupta prototype in the delineation of the neck-ornament i.e. *ekāvali* with lesser artistic skill. The older design of the *vanamālā* continues in this period with inferior treatment. The *Śrivatsa* mark, though originally introduced on a Varāha image (Mathura Museum No. 65.15) in the Kushāṇa period, is profusely found on the image of Vishṇu in this period.

Medieval Period

The halo is similarly circular or spherical but diminishing in size. It may be almost akin to the lotus-flower with petals, or the wheel with spokes. The

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1. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 47,3 ; 85, 4 ; 106,12.
2. III, 85,8.
3. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*. I, 22, 72.

treatment of the ornamentation is not so complex as in the earlier periods and occasionally semi-circular *prabhāvali* is noticed in certain images. The crown is more or less stylised according to the textual prescription with a conical shape and protuberant top. In certain tiara, *kīrtimukhas*, *siṁha* and *makara* are carved in artistic fashion, holding garlands in their mouths. In the centre and around the crown, the square shaped gems and checkered patterns are exquisitely designed. The neck-ornament is almost stylised producing prototypes with a number of necklaces. In a few images, the simple band of a single *hāra* is decorated over the chest. The *vanamālā* is more conventionalised, occasionally appearing as a rope with no ornate floral designs and as such, being more rudimentary. The drapsry is elaborately ornamented and artistically designed with thicker texture and broad linings. The upper garment is also worn by the god. The figure of the deity is more ornate in nature, wearing *kaṅkaṇa*, *mekhalā*, *aṅgada*, *keyūra* and other ornaments.

Significance of attributes and ornaments of Vishṇu

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the significance of all his ornaments is described as follows :—

> "The *Kaustubha* suggests pure knowledge. The world is bound together by the long and dark *vanamālā*. His garment is the *avidyā* which keeps the rotation of the world. Garuḍa is to be known as mind pervading the bodies of all creatures. The eight hands symbolise the four quarters and the intermediate directions. His four faces represent *Bala, Jñāna, Aiśvarya* and *Śakti*. *Bala* is called Vāsudeva, *Jñāna*-Saṁkarshaṇa, *Aiśvarya*-Pradyumna and *Śakti*-Aniruddha. Each face will have two hands. Vāsudeva will have the sun and moon in his hands, representing *Purusha* and *Prakṛiti*, symbolised by *chakra* and *gadā*. Saṁkarshaṇa will have the ploughshare and club representing time and death. Pradyumna will have the bow and arrow representing *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*. Aniruddha will have leather-shield and the arrow, representing the covering of ignorance which is necessary for the creation of the world. The sword Nandaka represents *Vairāgya* with which the bondage of the world is broken."[1]

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[1] III, 47, 1-18.

CHAPTER III

SŪRYA

Sūrya occupies an important place among the five principal deities of the Hindu pantheon, and the *Saura* sect, named after him came into existence with legends and mythology of its own. The Sun-god has a remarkable position in the history of the religions of the world. He was one of the highest deities, as well as the fertility god in ancient Mesopotamia.[1] In Greece too, his nomenclature was Helios [2] who was intimately connected with all vegetation. In Crete, he was the husband of the Divine Mother.[3] The *Zenda-Avestā*, possibly the oldest record of the fire-worshippers, however, gives Sun a position of one of the minor gods but on the other hand in *Mihir-Yast*, there is a faint reference that at one time Mithra was worshipped as the highest god.[4]

A number of Indus valley seals and potsherds represent the *swastika*, wheel, circle with radiating ray, bull and birds, specially falcon and peacock, which might suggest their association with the Sun.[5]

Sūrya is referred to in several hymns of the *Ṛigveda.* In one verse, he is described as a white dazzling horse brought over by *Ushas.*[6] In another passage, he is seated on a chariot drawn by one horse, named Etaśa,[7] or seven horses,[8] and also innumerable horses,[9] Various epithets of this god are also mentioned, viz. *pañcha-pāda, pitaraṁ, dvādaśākṛitim, vichakshaṇaṁ, purishiṇaṁ* and one who sits in (a chariot with) *sapta chakra shaḍara ahurārpitamiti.*[10]

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[1] Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near-East*, Uppasala, 1943, p. 21 ff., 54, ff.

[2] *DHI*, pp. 138, 438.

[3] J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Visṇuism*, p. 26.

[4] *EHI*, I, II, p. 301.

[5] *The Vedic Age*, p. I89.

[6] VII, 77,3.

[7] VII, 63, 2.

[8] V, 45, 9.

[9] I, 115, 3; X, 37, 3.

[10] I, 164, 12

The various aspects of Sūrya, such as *Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Daksha and Aṁśa* are also referred to as *Ādityas* in the *Ṛigveda.*[1] It appears that their number was indefinite in the early *Vedic* period, for the *Atharvaveda* mentions eight of them.[2] They are also referred to in the *Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa as Dhātā, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Indra* and *Vivasvat.*[3] The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, too, mentions their number as eight in one passage and as twelve in two other passages.[4] The twelve *Ādityas* are referred to as *Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvan, Pūshan, Savitā, Tvashṭā and Vishṇu.* The Epics and the *Purāṇas* also make mention of twelve *Ādityas* whose names are, however, not uniform but somc of them are common to different texts.

Sūrya is synonymous to Indra in the *Atharvaveda,*[5] and thrusts away the fetters of death.[6] In the *Praśnopanishad,* his epithets are *Prāṇa* and *Vaiśvānara Agni*, and he has thousands of rays,[7]

Sūrya is also mentioned as one of the *Navagrahas* such as, *Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu* and *Ketu* in the *Yājñavalkya Sūtra,*[8] and their worship is referred to. The worship of thc twelve *Ādityas* along with that of *Navagrahas* came to occupy a very important place in the religious life of the Indians.[9]

The Epics and the *Purāṇas* identify Sūrya with various deities, such as Vishṇu, Indra, Brahmā, Prajāpati and Agni.[10] His epithets are *gabhastinemi.*[11] (the felly of whose wheel consists of sun-beams), *sahasraraśmi,*[12] (thousand-rayed), *vihāyasagati*[13] (who moves through the sky), *Ravi, Virochana, Savitar* and *Ravilochana, etc.* In the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* (chap.134) the Sun is described as

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1. II, 27, 1.
2. VIII, 9,21.
3. I, 1, 1, 1-3.
4. VI, 1, 2, 8; XI, 6, 3, 8.
5. XVII, 1,30; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, V,7,1.
6. XIII, 3,13.
7. I, 5; VIII, 8.
8. Bombay Edition, 1892, p.89; *DHI*, p.44. In the early times there were only eight *grahas* but later *Ketu* was added in the list.
9. *DHI*, p.429.
10. *Mbh.* I, 88, 9; III,3,60.
11. *Ibid.*, XIII, 149, 65.
12. *Ibid.*, XIII, 149, 64.
13. *Ibid.*, XIII, 149, 107.

being attended to, by *apsarās, yakshas,* snake-demons and others who are frequently associated with water and fertility.[1]

The worship of the Sun was prevalent in India from very early times but it took a new turn after the contact of Maga priests from Iran in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Magas, according to the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* were brought by Sāmba, the son of Kṛishṇa by Jāmbavati, from Śakadvīpa in order to install them as priests of a Sūrya temple erected on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā.[2] The inscription from Govindapur, dated Śaka 1059(1137-38 A.D.) also refers to Magas who sprang from the Sun and were brought to this country by Sāmba.[3] The above mentioned temple was at Multan (Mulasthān), a glowing description of it, is noticed in the account of Hiuen-Tsang and Al-Beruni. Finally, it was destroyed by Aurangazeb in the seventeenth century A. D.[4] According to some *Purāṇas,* Sāmba also installed a Sūrya image known as Sāmbāditya at Mathura.[5] All this points to the fact that the Maga priests were brought to India, and Sūrya worshsip gained a new impetus under their influence in the Kushāṇa period.

The *Saura*-sect gained considerable importance by the time of Śaṁkarāchārya (c. 8th century A.D.). Its devotees were divided in six classes or groups, all bearing red sandal mark and wearing garlands of red flowers, and repeating the formula of eight syllables. Their leader was Divākara.[6]

These literary and epigraphic records indicate that Sūrya was an important deity in the *Vedic* period and has been worshipped ever since. Several hymns were sung in his praise in the *Vedas.* He was ever an indigenous god but his worship took a new turn under the foreign influence with definite notions and rituals, making it more popular among the masses.

Early Sūrya Images

The figures of Sūrya appear on early coins of India in both symbolic and anthropomorphic forms. The figures of a wheel and lotus on the punch-marked coins[7] (dated as early as the third century B.C.), rayed disc on the cast

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1. J.N. Banerjea, *Sūrya in Brahmanical Art, IA,* LIV, p.161 ff.
2. *Adh.,* 134.
3. *VSMRS,* p. 153.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 154,
5. *DHI,* p.431.
6. *VSMRS,* p.152.
7. Allan, *op.cit.,* p. 143.

coins of Kāda,[1] and on tribal coins of Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra[2] (dating back from c.3rd to Ist century B.C.), seem to represent Sūrya in the symbolic form. The seal found at Basarh also represents the solar-disc above a fire-altar.[3] These symbolic representations of the Sun in the form of a disc, an orb, or lotus were employed in the *yajñas* of the *Vedic* period.[4]

The anthropomorphic representations of the deity appear on the coins of Indo-Greeks and Kushāṇas. The figure is referred to as Helios or Mihira, etc. The coins of the Bactrian-Greek king Plato represent the deity riding on a four-horsed chariot.[5] The figures of the Sun-god are remarkable on the coins of Philoxenus—the deity is shown clad in chiton, himation and boots.[6] Similar figures of the god are also found on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka.[7]

However, it is interesting to note that the earliest anthropomorphic figure of Sūrya is to be found on a pottery sherd of the Mauryan age from Patna in which the deity is standing with Aruṇa on a four-horsed chariot.[8] Another terracotta of the Śuṅga period from Chandraketugarha represents Sūrya flanked by two females and riding a toy-cart, drawn by four horses.[9] A figure of Sūrya is to be found on a railing pillar at Bodhagayā.[10] The deity is seated on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses and shown in the attitude of driving it with the reins in hand. He is attended by two females shooting with bows at the two figures on either side of the chariot. A huge disc provides the back drop, and a circular umbrella is placed over the deity. Banerjea thinks that the relief is purely Indian in character.[11] The image of Sun from Bhājā is also shown riding a four-horsed chariot,[12] and attended by two females, holding umbrella and *chauri* respectively. Below the chariot, there are two naked dwarfs representing darkness.[1] Another early figure of the Sun is carved in Anantagumpha. He is similarly shown on a chariot drawn by four horses, and flanked with female figures. The deity carries reins in the left hand and a lotus in the right.[2]

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[1] *Allan, op. cit.*,p. 145.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp.cxviii-cxix, 193, 195, 197, Pl. XXVII.

[3] Spooner, *ASIAR*, 1913-14,pp.118-20,140,Pl.XLIX.

[4] *DHI*, p.432; The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also mentions that the Sūrya may be represented as a disc of gold on the fire-altar, VII, 4, 1, 10.

[5] P. Gardner, *op.cit.*, Pl. VI, 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 2,10; Pl. XXVIII, 2-4.

[8] *JISOA*, III, 2, p. 125.

[9] P.C. Dasgupta, *Early Terracottas from Chandraketugarha*, *Lalit Kala*, No. 6, October, 1959, p.46; *IA*, 1955-56, Pl. LXXII.B.

[10] *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 1096-97, Pl. IV,3; *HIIA*, p. 67, Fig. 61.

[11] *JISOA*, XVI, p. 54.

[12] *Ibid*,, VII, pp. 1-7, Pls. I and II.

These images from the late Mauryan to the early Kushāṇa period bear almost similar iconographic features and put them into a homogeneous group. This might be the first stage in the development of the Sūrya in anthropomorphic form.[3] The one-wheeled chariot[4] with horses yoked,[5] lotus[6] and the attendant damsels[7] show *Vedic* features in such representations. But the number of the horses which are alway four, may or may not be based on the *Vedic* conception.[8]

In the North India, a new variety of the image of Sun emerged in the Kushāṇa period under the Iranian influence with Indo-scythian dress (*udichya-vesha*). *avyaṅga* (Aiwiyaonghen) girdle and plump boots with trousers. The deity holds full blown lotuses in their hands, raised upto the hips, or the elbows and rarely, upto the shoulders. Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Aruṇa, seven horses, four consorts of the deity, and Ushā and Pratyushā are frequently present in the relief in the post-Gupta period. However, the earlier images of the Sun with indigenous features also continued to exist. This variety gained popularity in South India with certain modifications. The deity is shown bare-footed and with hands raised to the level of the shoulders, carrying half-blossomed lotuses. Moreover, Aruṇa, seven horses, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Ushā and Pratyushā, and the consorts of the deity may not be shown in the relief. These variations in the icons partly followed the iconographic texts of the north and south but a clear line of demarcation cannot be drawn in them as both have many common features.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* states, "The sun-god's nose, forehead, shanks, thighs, cheeks and breast should be elevated. He should be dressed in the northern style, covering the body from breast to foot. He holds lotuses in his hands, wears a diadem, ear-rings, a long pearl-necklace and a girdle round his waist.

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1. *HIIA*, p.25, Fig. 24.
2. *JISOA*, XVI, p. 54.
3. *DHI*, p. 432.
4. *Ṛigveda*, I, 175, 4.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 115, 3-4.
6. *Indian Studies*, p. 53.
7. *Nirukta*, II, 6.
8. Cunningham suggested that this feature was borrowed from the qudriga of Helios (*ASR*, III, p. 97). But Banerjea criticised him on this point (*JISOA*, XVI. p. 54).

His pleasing face has the lustre of the lotus, while the body is covered with an armour, and has a halo bright with gems.[1] According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the image of Sun should be made with auspicious moustaches and well-glowing garment, and be adorned with all the ornaments. His body should be well covered by a coat of mail and should have four hands. His waist zone called *yāviyāṅga* should be shown. In his left and right hands should be shown sunbeams (as reins), and wear auspicious garlands decorated with flowers. Daṇḍa should be placed on his left and Piṅgala on the right. The two hands of the Sun god should be placed on their heads. Piṅgala carries a palm-leaf and *a* stile, while Daṇḍa bears a shield and a lance. Revanta, Yama and a pair of Manus, the four sons of Sūrya should be placed on both sides. His wives Rājñī, Nikshubhā, Chhāyā and Suvarchasā should also be shown. The god with the charioteer Aruṇa should be seated on the best of chariots with one wheel and seven horses. The seven metres, i.e. Gāyatrī, Ushnīk, Anushṭubh, Vrhati, Paṁkti, Trishṭubh and Jagati are the seven horses in the chariot.[2] The *Matsya-Purāṇa* gives almost similar description of the Sun image.[3] According to the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama* and the *Suprabhedāgama*, the figure of the Sun god should be sculptured with two hands, each holding a lotus with the fists reaching upto the shoulders. He should have *karṇḍamukuṭa* over the head and *kānti-maṇḍala* as *prabhāvalī.'* He should wear many ornaments, such as *kuṇḍalas* and *hāra* ete. on his person. He is dressed in northern style and has *yajñopavita* over his body. The figure of Sūrya should be made to stand on a *padma-piṭha* or should be placed in a hexagonal chariot with one wheel, drawn by seven horses, fully caprisoned. Aruṇa Ushā, and Pratyushā should be shown similarly.[4] The *Śilparatna* states that there should be a *dvārapāla* on each side of Sūrya named Maṇḍala and Piṅgala[5] The *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* records that Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are Skanda and Agni, respectively. Aśvinīs should also be represented with Sūrya image. His attendants are said to be Rājña and Śrosha who represent the form of Skanda and Śiva, respectively.[6] The *Agni-Purāṇa* informs us that Sūrya with lotuses in both hands as the emblem of light and animation, should be seated on one-wheeled chariot, driven by seven horses. Kuṇḍi with pen and inkpot and Piṅgala with

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1· LVIII, 46-48.
2. III, 67, 1-17.
3. 261, 1-8.
4. *EHI*, I, II, pp. 306-09.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
6. CXXIV, 13-39.

daṇḍa should be shown on his right and left side. Beside him, should be his consorts, Rājñi and Nishprabhā (Nikshubhā).[1]

The sculptures representing Sūrya are found from the Kushāṇa period in this particular region. These early images are mostly located round about Mathura, though a few sculptures are also found at other places.[2] However, it is to be pointed out that two types of Sun images are found in this period. The first type of image bears the foreign influence as already discussed. The second type image is purely Indian in character with indigenous approach.

In the first group, the deity wears *udīchya* dress consisting of tunic, trousers, plump boots and *avyaṅga* girdle, and has only two horses in the chariot. The second type of image consisted of squatting figure of Sūrya on a chariot drawn by four horses which are almost similar to the pre-Kushāṇa images of god from Bodhagayā and Bhājā with mainly indigenous features. Both types of images have certain common features in their artistic approach as they may have a helmet over the head fast by a chaplet and band, and with tassels falling over shoulders. The figures may also carry a cluster of lotuses in the right hand and a dagger in the left.

Sūrya-image with foreign influence

The sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. 12.269) represents the first type of Sūrya image[3] with foreign influence, wearing *udichya* (Indo-scythian) dress, consisting of tunic, trousers and plump boots. He also wears a turban like helmet, fastened by a chapler and band, ear-rings, necklace, and *avyaṅga* girdle. He has tassels falling on shoulders and beautiful eye-brows. The deity is squatting on a chariot drawn by two horses and holds a cluster of lotuses in his right hand and a dagger fastened to a strap (Fig. 52). The image shows a definite departure in the iconographic approach from the earlier figures by depicting only two horses and Indo-scythian dress. This type of image prevailed throughout the Kushāṇa period and was the guiding principle for the later images, at least in the treatment of the dress. The other Kushāṇa images of this types are noticed in the same Museum (Nos.886, 894, 920, 936, 1006, etc.). An image from this region exhibited in the National Museum (No. 66. 18) represents squatting figure of Sūrya flanked by two horses. With similar Indo-scythian dress, the deity holds a dagger in the left hand, while the right hand is broken. It also belongs to the Kushāṇa period.

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[1] LI, 1-3.

[2] Lala Bhagat, Derapur, district Kanpur.

[3] Coomaraswamy identified this image to that of a Kushāṇa king (*HIIA*, Pl. XVII, Fig.64), but the identification of Agrawala to that of Sūrya seems to be true (*CBIMA*, p. 67).

Sūrya-image with indigenous approach

The slab from Mathura (No. D. 46) shows the indigenous type of Sūrya image, squatting on a chariot drawn by four horses, slightly resembling the figures from Bodhagayā, Bhājā and other places. The deity has a pair of wings attached to his shoulders.[1] He wears a coat, a necklace, ear-rings, armlets and a helmet on the head with the hair locks falling on the shoulders. He carries a lotus-flower in the right handa nd a broken dagger in the left[2] (Fig. 53). Another Kushāṇa image of similar type is also noticed in the same Museum (No.922). The Lala-Bhagat image (Derapur, Kanpur) of Sūrya belongs to the Kushāṇa period, and is almost similar to the Bhājā image of the deity. He is riding on a chariot drawn by four horses. A female figure on the left of the deity holds an umbrella and another on the right carries a *chauri*. The bottom figures indicate the demons of darkness,[3] It is to be pointed out that Daṇḍa, Piṅgala or any other attendant of Sūrya are not shown in the Kushāṇa period; their figures evolved later on. But the attire of the deity consisting of tunic, trousers and boots became a common feature of the northern images of Sūrya which continued for a long time.

In the Gupta period, the Sūrya image further evolved towords elaboration. The *udīchya* dress still persists with the Persian coat, trousers and buskin-boots. The number of the horses in the chariot are increased to seven. The attendants and other figures, such as, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Aruṇa; Ushā, and Pratyushā are also included with the deity.

The Gupta images of Sūrya can be classified in three groups:-

1. Sthānaka Mūrti.
2. Āsana Mūrti on a chariot with lotuses in hands.
3. Bhadrāsana Mūrti with a dagger and lotus.

Sthānaka Sūrya

The *sthānaka Sūrya* image is shown with lotus in both the hands. and flanked with Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. It is noteworthy that the chariot, horses or other figures are not shown in this group. In the Mathura Museum three sculptures (Nos. 595, 1058 and 1256) represent this form of Sūrya. The image No. 1256 shows the remarkable figure of Sūrya standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with legs placed apart and holding lotuses in both the hands. He has a plain halo and wears a high diadem, moustaches, incised-beardmark, ear-rings, pearl-necklace and armlets. His dress consists of a tight-fitting tunic in the style of a round apron fringed with pearls and coming down to the knees but leaving the buskined legs visible. The drapery of this figure has a striking similarity with the solar image from Khair-Khaneh near Kabul, discovered by Dr. J. Hackin, and for that reason it may be placed in the reigns of the Sassanian emperor Shahpur II, and his successors Ardashir II, and Shahpur III i.e., between 309 and 386 A.D.[1] Daṇḍa Piṅgala are standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, one on either side with *śakti* and pen, and a palm-leaf, respectively. The image No. 595 shows the Indian features consisting of a high crown, lotuses in both the hands, *ekāvali* and *kuṇḍalas*. Daṇḍa with a trident, and Piṅgala with a pen and a leaf are also shown. The caps of these attendants are shown in the Scythian style. The image No. 1058 is badly damaged. On the basis of style these sculptures may be assigned to the Gupta period. These images agree partly with the prescription of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[2] and partly with that of*Agni-Purāṇa*.[3] Another Gupta sculpture in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 160) represents the *sthānaka* image of *Sūrya*, wearing his usual ornaments and Indo-scythian dress. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are similarly shown. A halo surrounds the head of the deity.

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[1] In the *Ṛigveda*, Sūrya is described as a bird, a *suparṇa* or a *śyena* (X, 177, 1; V, 47, 3; V, 45, 9.).

[2] *HIIA*, p.67.

[3] *JISOA*, XVI, p. 55; *ASIAR*, 1929-30, p. 133, Pl. XXXI, d.e.

Āsana Mūrti of Sūrya on a chariot with lotus flowers in both the hands

The second variety consists of those images in which the deity is seated cross-legged[4], squatting[5], or seated in *padmāsana*[6] on a chariot drawn by seven horses[7]. The deity holds lotuses in his hands[8]. The driver Aruṇa is also shown in a few cases.[1] The figures of Ushā, Pratyushā[2] and Piṅgala[3] are also executed in some images, This variety shows the revival of the early Indian form by increasing the number of horses to seven, which agrees with the *Ṛigvedic* account in which seven is the common number.[4] These images almost correspond to the description in the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

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[1] *CBIMA*, p.69, For the Khair - Khaneh image see *JISOA*, 1937, p. 128, PL. XV, Fig. 3.

[2] LVIII, 46-48.

[3] LI, 1-3.

[4] Mathura Nos. 515, 122.

[5] Mathura Nos. 895, 124.

[6] Bharat Kala Bhawan No. 131.

[7] Mathura Nos. 888, 1173, 1395, 1979, etc.

[8] Mathura Nos. 1173, 888.

Bhadrāsana Mūrti with a dagger and lotus

The third variety is the prototype of the Kushāṇa figures which preserves the lotus and dagger in the hands of the deity. It is invariably a seated image of Sūrya (Mathura No. 930) holding a dagger in the left hand and a lotus in the right. Piṅgala is shown with a *kulah* cap on his right. It is to be pointed out that this particular group occasionally represents two or more figures of Sūrya[5] seated together with the usual attributes. They, probably represent the remaining figures of the *sapta*-Sūrya[6].

A similar representation of the Sun image continues in the later Gupta period. It can be classified in two groups—

(1) Sthānaka Mūrti, and
(2) Āsana Mūrti

Sthānaka Mūrti

The standing Sun image is the exact prototype of the Gupta art. The two attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are similarly carved, whereas other figures including chariot and horses are wanting in the relief. It is noteworthy that the attire of Sūrya has been Indianised during this period. The deity has done away with the usual upper armour. The *avyaṅga* girdle has given way to a scarf tied around the waist. The image from Baijnath, Almora, depicts Sūrya standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing a tiara surrounded by a halo, ear-rings, a necklace, armlets and a scarf tied as waist-band, boots and trousers. The upper part of the body is without the usual armour. The deity is two-armed holding a cluster of lotuses in them. On his left, Daṇḍa with Indo-scythian dress is standing. He holds a *śakti* and *kheṭaka* in his hands. On the right side Piṅgala with similar dress, is standing usually with a pen in the right hand and a palm-leaf in the left. No other figures are carved in the relief (Fig. 54). The figure is almost similar to the Gupta *sthānaka* Sūrya. The sculpture partly agrees with the descriptions of the *Āgamas* and the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The image may be dated in c. 7th century A.D. A statue in the State Museum (No. 57·401) represents similar figure of Sūrya having tassels falling over the shoulders. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are carved as usual beside the deity. It differs with the above image in bearing a *khaḍga* in a sheath fastened by straps. The sculpture shows the continuation of the old practice in putting a sword by the side of the deity. The artist with more Indianisation attitude has a taste for the old conception. The sculpture may be placed in c. 7th-8th century A.D., and partly corresponds with the descriptions of the *Āgamas*[1] and the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*[2]. A sculpture from Bhita, (Allahabad Museum No. 406) is almost similar to that of State Museum (No. 57·401), with a sword placed in a sheath on the left of the deity. It may be assigned to c. 7th century A.D. Two images, one in the Allahabad Museum (No. 412) and the other in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 179), represent similar figures of Sūrya, wearing his usual dress and ornaments, and holding lotus-flowers in both the hands. The sculptures are partly broken, with the figures of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala lost. The later Gupta statuette from Mathura (No. D.16) depicts a similar figure of Sūrya with Ushā, Pratyushā, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Rājñī and Nikshubhā. It almost corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[3].

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[1] Mathura Nos. 895, 124 and 1395.

[2] Mathura No. 888.

[3] Mathura No. 1013.

[4] V, 45, 9.

[5] Mathura Nos. 1559 and 1979.

[6] V.S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 170.

Āsana Mūrti

The seated image of Sūrya is more elaborately carved on a chariot drawn by seven horses along with the driver Aruṇa and Ushā, and Pratyushā. A sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. 10.123) shows the figure of Sūrya, seated in *padmāsana* on a chariot drawn by seven horses which are flying in the sky along with the lame driver Aruṇa. The deity has lost his head, and wears a necklace, armlets, *avyaṅga* girdle and *udīchya* dress. Sūrya with raised hands, probably, holds lotuses. Ushā and Pratyushā are shown dispelling the darkness by their bows. The image partly tallies with the prescriptions of the

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] III, 67, 1-17.

Matsya-Purāṇa[1] and the *Vishṇudharmottara*[2] and may be assigned to the later Gupta period.

In the medieval period the evolution of Sūrya-image has reached its maturity by assimilating the foreign influence as the indigenous feature. The image was carved with further elaboration and included other figures. Sūrya is shown either standing on achariot drawn by seven horses, or without the vehicle, or seated on the chariot drawn by seven horses and the driver Aruṇa. The deity wears a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, haloed with *kānti-maṇḍala*, necklace, ear-rings, *vanamālā*, long boots and embroidered dress, and carries lotuses in his hands. The attendants, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Ushā, Pratyushā, his other figures, such, as Aśvinī-Kumāras, Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā, Brahmā, Śiva and Vidyādharas, etc. are frequently shown.

The medieval images of Sūrya are classified in four groups :—

(1) Sthānaka Mūrti on a chariot.
(2) Sthānaka Mūrti without chariot.
(3) Āsana Mūrti with lotuses in hands.
(4) Āsana Mūrti with a dagger and lotus.

Sthānaka Mūrti on a chariot

The sculpture from Baijnath, (Fig. 55) Almora, is a fine piece of art, representing the Sun god standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a chariot, drawn by seven horses and the driver Aruṇa. The deity is embellished with a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *prabhā-maṇḍala*, ear-rings, necklace, girdle, *yajñopavita*, armlets, loins decorated with small bells (*kiṅkaṇi-jāla*) and scarf passing through hands upto knees. He has lotus flowers in both hands, raised upto the shoulders in accordance with the *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*[3]. On the left of the deity, Daṇḍa with a sword in his hand, and on the right Piṅgala with a pen and inkpot are standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. His consorts Rājñī and Nikshubhā are standing similarly with a fly-whisk and vessel in their hands. Ushā and Pratyushā, one on either side, are dispelling darkness with their bow and arrows. On the upper corner a pair of Vidyādharas are carved exquisitely. The image partly corresponds with the prescriptions of the *Agni-Purāṇa*[4], *Śilparatna* and *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*[5], and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. An image in the State Museum (No. 0.201) is almost similar to the above mentioned figure. The deity is standing as usual on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses (partly broken). Aruṇa and Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā are standing before his feet. Daṇḍa with a sword and shield, Piṅgala with a piece of paper, Rājñī, and Nikshubhā with lotus in their hands and Ushā, Pratyushā along with Vidyādharas are similarly carved. The image partly agrees with the descriptions of the *Agni-Purāṇa* and *Suprabhedāgama*, and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. Another sculpture from Baijnath is almost similar, with further additions of Aśvinī-devatās, as recorded in the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*[1]. Another State Museum image (No. G. 224) represents a similar figure of Sūrya on a chariot drawn by seven horses. Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Ushā and Pratyushā are carved as usual. A similar image of Sūrya is noticed at Mahoba (Hamirpur). An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 181) shows similar Sūrya figure. These sculptures may be dated back to c. 10th century A.D. on the basis of the style. Similar Sūrya image found in this region is now deposited in the British Museum (No. 84). The deity is seated on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses. His wives Suvarchasā and Chhāyā, attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā are also carved in the relief.[2]

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[1] 261, 1-8.
[2] *Supra.*
[3] *Op. cit.*
[4] LI, 1-3.
[5] *Op.cit.*

Sthānaka Mūrti without chariot

An image in the State Museum (No. H. 29, F.P. Khukhundha, Gorakhpur) is a fine piece of art of this variety in which the chariot, Aruṇa and the horses are altogether absent. The deity[3] is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with his usual dress and ornaments, and holds lotus-stalks in both the hands. Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā is seated on *padmāsana* between his feet. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, one on either side with their usual attributes, dress and ornaments. On the recessed corners, Rājñī and Nikshubhā, the consorts of the deity are wearing *dhammilla* hair. They are standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with a *chāmara* in one of their hands. Behind them, the horse-faced Aśvinī-devatās are standing. On the brackets, Ushā and Pratyushā are standing in the position of an archer, shooting arrows for dispelling the darkness. Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and Vidyādharas are also carved in the upper relief.

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[1] CXXIV, 13-39.

[2] *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 45.

[3] Cunningham wrongly identified it as the image of Vishṇu (*ASR*, I, p.87) but the lotuses in his hands prove it to be of *Sūrya*, beyond doubt.

However, it is to be clearly mentioned that the chariot, horses and the driver Aruṇa are not carved in this relief. The sculpture partly corresponds with the descriptions of the *Suprabhedāgama*[1], *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*[2] and *Agni-Purāṇa*[3], and may be dated back to c. 10th century A.D. A few sculptures in the State Museum (Nos. H. 28, H. 30 and 46. 52) represent almost similar figures of Sūrya. Similar images are also noticed in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 16.1220) and the Allahabad Museum (No. 651). The figures of Aruṇa, seven horses and the chariot are altogether absent as mentioned above. These sculptures may be assigned to the medieval period and almost resemble with the Sūrya image found in Nepal.[4]

Āsana Mūrti

The deity is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* or *padmāsana* on a chariot drawn by seven horses and the charioteer Aruṇa. He carries lotuses in both the hands, and wears his usual dress and ornaments. His consorts, attendants and other figures may also be carved. A sculpture from Baijnath depicts the squatting figure of Sūrya on a chariot drawn by seven horses along with the driver Aruṇa who holds reins in his hands. The deity wears a tiara, a halo on the back, ear-rings, necklace, girdle, loin-cloth and a remarkable ornament crossed diagonally over the shoulders which appears to be the *chhannavira*[5]. The upper part of the body is without any garment. The deity carries lotuses in both the hands (the left one is broken). Near his feet, Ushā and Pratyushā are shown dispelling the darkness. A pair of Vidyādharas are shown on the upper corner. The deity with loin-cloth, *chhannavira* and seven horses represents the perfect Indian features in the image without any alien conception, and is a remarkable piece of art of this variety. The image almost agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*[6] with variations in having the figures of Ushā and Pratyushā instead of Kuṇḍī and Piṅgala as stated there. It may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The image from Katarmal, Almora, shows Sūrya figure seated in *padmāsana* on a chariot drawn by seven horses along with Aruṇa. The deity wears his usual ornaments, a coat, trousers and long boots. Ushā, Pratyushā, Rājñī, Nikshubhā (with a lotus and *chāmara* in their hands), Agni and Vidyādharas are also carved in the similar disposition. The image partly meets the descriptions of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[1] and the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[2] but the deity is shown two-armed and not four, as indicated there. An image from Kauśāmbi (placed in the Allahabad Musuem No. 4538) represents similar figure of Sūrya, seated on a chariot with usual depiction. The Mathura sculptures (Nos. D. 45, 1290 and 542) depict the squatting figures of Sūrya on a chariot drawn by seven horses along with other attendants such as, Aruṇa, Ushā, Pratyushā, Rājñī and Nikshubhā. The image No. 1290 shows Aśvinī-Kumāras, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, whereas No. 542 depicts only two attendants, i.e. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. These sculptures are almost treated in accordance with the descriptions of the *Agni-Purāṇa*[3] and the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*[4], and may be assigned to the medieval period.

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[1] *Op.cit.*

[2] *Supra.*

[3] LI, 1-3.

[4] Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, Pl. X.

[5] This ornament first appears in the Gupta period on the images of Rāma and Lakshamaṇa, *op.cit.*

[6] *Supra.*

Āsana Mūrti with a dagger and lotus

A statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 1215) represents a remarkable image of Sūrya, dressed as usual and having a dagger between the legs and a lotus in the right hand. The association of the dagger with the deity is very interesting as it shows the continuation of the attribute from the Kushāṇa to the medieval period. The medieval artist still had a taste for the Kushāṇa image. In this context, it is to be stressed that such images are rarely found in the medieval period.

Daṇḍa and Piṅgala

The *Vishṇudharmottara* records that Daṇḍa and the tawny coloured Piṅgala should be placed on the left and the right of the deity, respectively[5]. Both of them should be dressed in the northern costume[6], and Daṇḍa should hold a shield and a spear, and Piṅgala should carry a leaf and a pen[7]. Similar descriptions of these attendants are found in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[1]. The *Mahābhārata* also states that Daṇḍa is an attendant of Sūrya[2].

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[1] III, 67, 1-17.

[2] 261, 1-8.

[3] *Supra.*

[4] *Supra.*

[5] Rao identifies Daṇḍa with Skanda and Piṅgala with Agni on the account of *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*, EHI, I, II, p. 304. In the *Viśvakarmā-Śilpa*, Daṇḍa is regarded as Yama. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[6] III, 67, 5-6.

[7] III, 67, 7.

The images of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are sculptured for the first time in the Gupta period. The Mathura sculptures (Nos. 1256 and 595) represent the two attendants in accordance with the prescription of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[3] Another Mathura image (No. 1397) shows Daṇḍa with a long staff held in the right hand. He wears a Persian coat, *kulah* cap, necklace and a scarf thrown over the shoulders with a knot on the chest. A broken slab at Mathura (No. 513) represents the independent figure of Piṅgala, standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose and holding a pen and an inkpot in his hands. He wears the Persian attire with embroidered coat, conical cap, ear-rings, necklace, anklets, a scarf thrown on both shoulders, trousers and buskined-boots. The attire clearly indicates the Sassanian influence[4]. The other statuettes from Mathura (Nos. 2359, 2662, 1387, 598 and D-I) represent almost similar figures of Piṅgala. These images are carved in accordance with the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[5] and the *Vishṇudharmottara*[6].

In the post Gupta period the independent images of these attendants are not available but rather, they are always associated with Sūrya. Daṇḍa is frequently shown with a spear and shield, and Piṅgala with a pen and paper. The attire shows the Sassanian influence. These figures almost agree with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[7] (Jageshwar, and State Museum No. 57. 401). Occasionally, Daṇḍa is shown with a sword and shield, and Piṅgala with a pen and inkpot (Baijnath, Fig. 55, and State Museum No. 0.201).

Revanta

Revanta is one of the sons of Sūrya; the others being Yama, Aśvins and Manus[8]. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (ch. 109) and the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* (ch. V, 49), Revanta delivers people from a number of enemies, robbers and terrors of forests, and bestows upon his worshippers perfect health, comfort, happiness, intelligence, kinship and exalted position.

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[1] 260, 5-6.

[2] *Vanaparva*, 3, 68.

[3] *Supra.*

[4] V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p.188.

[5] *Supra.*

[6] *Supra.*

[7] *Supra.*

[8] *DHI*, p. 442.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* records that Revanta should be sculptured as seated on a horse. He should be shown as if he was on an hunting incursion along with his attendants[1]. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the deity Revanta should be shown like Sūrya on the back of a horse[2].

The image of Revanta was sculptured independently in the medieval period. The recently acquired Mathura slab (No. 68.2)[3] represents headless Revanta on an hunting incursion in long boots, riding on a caprisoned, saddled-horse. The head and the upper part of the deity is lost. A male attendant with an umbrella over the head of the deity is seen at the back while a haloed female figure (deity's-consort ?) carrying a water vessel stands in front. Another horse-rider with similar dress is also shown on the front, while the back also shows another hunter with boots and armour, riding a horse and holding a spear. Underneath the horses, are three miniature boars being trampled by horse legs. These boars are being further attacked by dogs. The whole theme is beautifully executed in the plastic art of c. 8th-9th century A.D. A slab in the Allahabad Museum (No. 402) represents three horse-riders, proceeding for the hunting game. The horse-rider in the centre represents god Revanta wearing a princely dress. An attendant behind him holds a parasol. The horse-rider behind Revanta holds a long staff in his hand. Below on the ground there are seven dwarfish figures and hunting dogs for the assistance. The slab may be assigned to the medieval period. A few sculptures at Dudhai and Chandpur (Jhansi) represent similar figures of Revanta on the back of a horse proceeding for the hunting incursions. Another similar figure of Revanta from this region is exhibited in the National Museum (No. 60. 475, Fig. 56).

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1. LVIII, 56.
2. III, 70, 53.
3. V.N. Srivastava, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 2, pp. 57-68, Fig. 4.

CHAPTER IV

GAṆEŚA

Gaṇeśa, the non-Āryan deity of the ancient times,[1] rose to the status of the great god in later Gupta period, after his admission into the Brahmanical pantheon, and a sect developed round him.[2] The most popular deity at the present time in the Hindu pantheon has not been referred to in the *Ṛigveda*[3]. Moreover, Gaṇapati mentioned in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*[4] and the *Śukla-yajurveda*[5], refers to Bṛihaspati and not to Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa is clearly mentioned along with Rudra and his consort for the first time in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra*[6], and he is called Vināyaka in the *Atharvaśirash Upanishad*[7]. He has several epithets, such as *Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Hastimukha, Lambodara* and *Vighna.* He was the deity for creating obstacles in human actions and was prayed for removing them. The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*[8] refers to a Vināyaka who was appointed a leader of the *gaṇas* by Rudra and Brahmadeva for creating obstacles in human strivings. A great ceremony is prescribed to pacify him. The *Smṛiti* mentions six names of Vināyaka, such as *Mita, Sammita, Śāla, Kaṭaṅkaṭa, Kushmāṇḍa* and *Rājaputra*, along with his mother Ambikā.[9]

In the *Mānava Gṛihyasūtra*, the Vināyakas are four in number-*Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kushmāṇḍarājaputra, Ushmita* and *Devayajana*, who obstruct human activities and are, therefore, worshipped for removing their malignant influence.[10]

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1. *Hindu Deva Parivara Ka Vikasa*, p. 147.
2. *VSMRS*, p. 212.
3. The reference to *Brāhmaṇaspati* in the *Ṛigveda* (II, 23, 1) and the *Atharvaveda* (VII, 31, 1), as the Lord of all Brahma-Yakshas, Gaṇapati and the supreme king Jyeshṭha-rāja, does not mean for Gaṇeśa.
4. I, 21. (Hag p. 15).
5. *Madhyandinīya Saṁhitā*, XXIII, 19.
6. II, 5, 6.
7. *VSMR*S, p. 147.
8. I, 271.
9. *VSMRS*, p. 211.
10. II, 14, ff.

The *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra* refers to a single Vināyaka who is elevated to the position of destroying obstacles and is prayed as *Gaṇeśvara*.[1] The most interesting point of the *sūtra* is that Gaṇeśa is associated with the goddess Jyeshṭhā as his consort who has *hastimukha* like him,[2]. and whose vehicle was a chariot drawn by a lion and a tiger. It has been suggested that Gaṇeśa and Śiva were originally one and the same god.[3] But he acquired independent position by the *Purāṇa's* time, and came to be associated with Rudra and Ambikā as their son. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* informs us that Brahmā had given the epithet *Vināyakapati* to Gaṇeśa.[4] According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa*, Śiva made him the supreme Vināyaka.[5] The *Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa* regarded him as the absolute God, the creator, the protector and the destroyer of the universe. He is Mahā-Vishṇu, Sadā-Śiva, Mahā-Śakti and Mahā-Brahmā.[6] Thus Vināyaka, the obstacle creator became more useful to the human beings by modifying his nature as an evil-destroyer. Later he was worshipped as an independent god, and the *Gāṇapatya* sect came into existence.[7]

The epigraphic data from Ghaṭiyālā near Jodhpur also records the continuation of the worship of Gaṇapati. The relic consists of a column with four images of the deity on the top, facing each quarters, and the inscription pays an obeisance to Vināyaka.[8] (*Oṁ Vināyakāya Namaḥ*). The date of the inscription is V. S. 918 (A.D. 862).

It is somewhat strange that *Gāṇapatya* sect was subdivided into six varieties, such as *Mahā-Gaṇapati*, *Haridrā-Gaṇapati*, *Uchchhishṭa-Gaṇapati*, *Navanīta*, *Suvarṇa* and *Santāna* by the time of Saṁkarāchārya during the very short period.[9]

The remarkable point of Gaṇeśa-worship is that it also spread to foreign

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1. III, 3, 10.
2. III, 3, 9.
3. Przyluski, quoted by A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 2. The *Saura-Purāṇa* also refers to Gaṇeśa as representing Śiva himself, 43, 48.
4. CLIV, 505.
5. XXIII, 27-29.
6. I, 20-28.
7. Bhandarkar thinks that Gaṇapati cult must have come into practice between the end of the 5th and the 8th century A.D., *VSMRS*, p. 148.
8. *EI*, IX, p. 277-79.
9. *DHI*, p. 357; *Gaṇeśa*, p. 12. However, Bhandarkar doubts whether these varieties of the sect came into being in such a short time as *Gaṇapati-Vināyaka* was fully endorsed in Hindu pantheon in c. 6th century A.D., *VSMRS*, pp. 149-50.

countries in a very short time and his medieval images have also been found in Indo-China, Java and other countries[1].

Gaṇapati has the elephantine face. Its genesis may be traced in the *Mahābhārata*, where the *gaṇas* of Rudra are said to have had animal faces of boar, crocodile, peacock, fish, buffalo, tortoise, crow, owl, lion, *garuḍa*, ox and elephant.[2] The *Matsya-Purāṇa* also records that *Rudra-gaṇas* are *vyāghra-mukha* and *gajamukha*[3]. The Śiva-temple at Bhumara shows several animal and bird faces in small friezes, probably indicating *gaṇas*[4]. The earliest Gaṇeśa images possibly evolved from Yaksha and Nāga figures[5], and as such the elephantine face might be borrowed from them.

The *Purāṇas* give different account of the birth of Gaṇeśa. He is said to have been born either independently or by Pārvatī or Śiva alone, or by both. The legends regarding the deity are fully described by Rao.[6]

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* states that Gaṇeśa should have elephantine face with a single tusk, a bulging belly, carrying a *paraśu* and a *mūlakanda* (turnip of dark foliage and root) in his hands.[7] It should be, obviously, a two-armed figure. The *Amarakośa* gives the synonyms of the word Gaṇapati, such as *Ekadanta*, *Gaja-mukha* and *Lambodara*, etc.[8] These terms are suggestive of his iconographic features. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the image of Vināyaka should have elephantine face with one tusk and bulging belly, wearing tiger's skin and *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. He should have four hands, holding trident and rosary in the right hands and *paraśu* and *modaka-pātra* in the left, and should be seated in *lalitāsana*.[9] The *Matsya-Purāṇa* prescribes that Vināyaka image should have elephantine face, capacious belly, large extended ears, big trunk, one tusk, three eyes—one on the forehead, and should be accompanied by his consorts Ṛiddhi and Buddhi, and mount *mūshaka*. His face should be cast downwards, and he should have strong arms, feet and shoulders. The four-armed deity should carry a tusk and a lotus flower in the right hands, and a battle-axe and a pot of ambrosia in the left[1]. The *Aparājitapṛichchha* gives almost similar description as the *Matsya-Purāṇa* but here Ṛiddhi and Buddhi are not associated with the deity, and he may hold a tusk and a battle-axe in right hands and a lotus and ambrosia pot in the left[2]. The *Agni-Purāṇa*[3] and *Rūpamaṇḍana*[4] also give similar descriptions of the deity.

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[1] *DHI*, p. 357.

[2] IX, 45, 75 ff.

[3] Quoted from *Gaṇeśa*, p. 10.

[4] R.D. Banerjee, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, *MASI*, No. 16, Pl. IX, X.

[5] Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, I, p. 7, Pl. 23, Fig. I.

[6] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 35-46; *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 4-10.

[7] LVIII, 58.

[8] I, I, 38.

[9] III, 71, 13-16.

The ten varieties of the images of Gaṇeśa and their attributes are described as follows in the *Merutaṅtra* and *Śāradātilaka*[5].

Name	*Hands*	*Attributes*
1. Vighnarāja	4	*Pāśa, aṅkuśa, chakra, abhaya* pose.
2. Lakshmī-Gaṇapati	4	*Śaṁkha*, rest as above. Lakshmī seated on his left lap.
3. Śakti-Gaṇeśa	4	*Aṅkuśa, pāśa, danta, bījapūraka.*
4. Kshiti-Prasādana-Gaṇeśa.	4	Similar as above with *divyalatā.*
5. Vakratuṇḍa	4	Similar to the first except for the *varada* pose.
6. Heramba	8	*Modaka, danta, taṅka, mudgar, aṅkuśa, kukkuṭa, abhaya* and *varada* poses.
7. Pīta-Gaṇeśa	4	*Pāśa, aṅkuśa, modaka, danta.*
8. Mahā-Gaṇapati	12	*Bījapūraka, mudgara, dhanusha, triśūla, chakra, padma, pāśa, kumuda, tandula, danta, maṇi-pātra, ghaṭa.*
9. Virañchi-Gaṇapati	10	*Bījapūraka, mudgara, dhanusha, chakra mālā, kamala, pāśa, bāṇa, danta, maṇi-pātra.*
10. Uchchhishṭa-Gaṇapati	4	*Pāśa, aṅkuśa, abhaya* and *varada* poses.

GAṆEŚA-MŪRTI

The evolution of Gaṇeśa-image can be traced from the Kushāṇa period in the form of Gajānana-Yakshamūrti. The elephant-headed *gaṇa* on the railing from Amrāvatī[1] represents a *yaksha*-type who is a garland-bearer and pot-bellied. It can be assigned to c. 2nd century A.D. The relief from Mathura (No. 2335) depicts five elephant-headed *gaṇas* who resemble the Amrāvatī figure, and it is assignable to the Kushāṇa period[2]. Another representation of this type is found on a frieze of the *Stūpa* belonging to the early centuries near Mihintale in Ceylone, in which one of the *gaṇas* is elephant-headed[3]. He is represented with one tusk and is attended to by a host of *gaṇas*. He cannot be regarded as the prototype of Gaṇeśa but this figure betrays some common features. It has been asserted that this form of *gaṇas* does not indicate Gaṇeśa in his classical form, whose proper images were evolved at later stage[4].

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[1] 260, 52-55.

[2] 212, 35-37.

[3] 50, 23-26.

[4] V, 15.

[5] D.N. Shukla, *Bhāratiya-Vāstuśāstra* (*Pratimā-Vignāna*), Vol. IV, pp. 280-81.

The earliest independent representation of Gaṇeśa is found at Saṁkisā, exhibited now in the Museum Fur Volker-kunde.[5] The figure is disproportionate with heavy head and trunk, and stumpy legs. He holds a bowl in the left hand over which is kept the curved trunk, and a tusk in the right hand. In the early-Gupta period, we notice a further development of the type but its affinity to the *yaksha* form still persists. The Mathura image (No. 15.758) seems to be a refined copy of the preceding image with certain new features. It represents the early form of the *sthānaka*-Gaṇapati as a corpulent nude dwarf resembling partly the *yaksha* figure. He has elephantine-face, *sūrpakāra-karṇa*, bulging belly and two hands carrying ambrosia pot in the left; the right one is broken. His proboscis is turned to the left and its tip is placed on the bowl. The deity is wearing a *nāga-yajñopavīta*. The figure is crudely sculptured, resembling the ithyphallic dwarfs of the Gupta period, and can be assigned to the early-Gupta age. The image partly agrees with the form prescribed in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[6] in having two arms but the attributes are altogether different. Some other early Gupta images of Gaṇeśa are also noticed in the same Museum (Nos. 792, 964 and 1064). The image Nos. 792 and 964, represent the deity with two arms carrying sweets in his left hand which he is touching with the trunk, and a pomegranate in the right hand. The deity also wears *nāga-yajñopavita*, and has only one tusk. In No. 1064 the figure of the deity is shown in a dancing posture with one tusk and two arms. Another elephant-headed figure (No. 509) of Gaṇeśa also belongs to this period.

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, I, p.7, Pl. 23, Fig. I; J. Burgess, *Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXI.

[2] V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 189; *Mathura Kala*, pp. 73-74.

[3] Getty, *op.cit.*, p. 25, Pl. XXII, (e).

[4] *DHI*, p. 359; Banerjea believes that Gaṇeśa images were sculptured in the pre-Gupta period, *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55; *Mathura Kala*, p. 74.

[5] Getty, *op.cit.*, p. 26, Pl. II, a.

[6] *Op. cit.*

The Gaṇeśa images sculptured on the facade of the Chandragupta cave at Udayagiri[1] and Bhumara temple[2], also belong to the Gupta period in which the deity is two-armed with somewhat similar depiction. The terracotta plaque from Bhitargaon represents a flying *gaṇa* with elephantine-face. He is four-armed and holds a bowl containing sweets in the front left hand, while the front right hand is held in *tarjanī* pose. The other hands have indistinct objects, and his proboscis is turned to the left touching the sweets.[3] A medallion on the Gupta temple at Deogarh depicts the figure of Gaṇeśa, seated in *lalitāsana* with elephantine-face, *sūrpa-karṇa*, capacious belly, a single tusk, and the proboscis is turned to left in the usual way. The deity is four-armed, holding a tusk and rosary in the front and back right hands, an ambrosia pot and a battle-axe in the front and back left hands, respectively. A dwarfish male figure is standing below with a basket full of sweets. The remarkable feature of the image is that it has been freed from the crampling influence of *yaksha* figures and has evolved to its classical form with no archaic features. The image almost corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*,[4] except for the attribute tusk.

In the post-Gupta period the seated images of Gaṇeśa[5] can be classified in two groups :—

(1) Two-armed Āsana-Mūrtis.
(2) Four-armed Āsana-Mūrtis.

Two-armed Āsana-Mūrti

A statue from Jageshwar, depicts the figure of Gaṇeśa[5] seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. The deity wears a crown studded with moon, necklace, bracelets and *sarpayajñopavita*. He is shown broad-shouldered, pot-bellied, and has small legs. The deity is shown as usual with one tusk, *sūrpa-karṇa*, elephantine-face and a halo on the back. He is only two-armed and carries an ambrosia pot in the left hand which is being touched by the proboscis and a *mūlakanda* in the right (the possibility of a tusk is also not excluded). The image partly agrees with the description of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[1] in bearing *mūlakanda* in one of his hands, and may be assigned to c. 8th century A.D. An almost similar image of two-armed Gaṇeśa is noticed at Chandpur but here, he is shown with right hand raised in *abhayamudrā* and left one similarly carrying ambrosia pot.

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[1] *DHI*, p.359, Pl. XV, Fig. 1.

[2] R.D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, a.b.

[3] *ASIAR*, 1908, 09, pp.10-11, Fig.2.

[4] III, 71, 13-16.

[5] S.B. Singh, *Vināyaka Gaṇapati And His Icons in Uttar Pradesh*, *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XLI, Nos. 1-2, p. 88, Fig.1.

Four-armed Āsana-Mūrti

A sculpture in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 329) represents Gaṇeśa seated in *lalitāsana*, wearing his uual ornaments. His proboscis is turned to the left. He has four arms which are all broken. It can be assigned to c. 8th century A.D. An image in the Allahabad Museum (No. 644) shows similarly seated Gaṇeśa with his usual ornaments. He has four arms carrying a rosary in the upper right hand, a lotus flower in the upper left, *modaka-pātra* in the lower left, and the fourth one rests on his belly. A *gaṇa* is also standing beside him. The lower part of the frieze is broken. The image partly meets the description of the *Aparājitapṛichchha*[2] and partly of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[3], and can be assigned to c. 9th century A.D. A Mathura sculpture (No. 1512) depicts four-armed seated Gaṇapati, carrying a *paraśu* and lotus in the back two hands and an ambrosia pot in the front left, whereas the front right hand is held in the *abhaya* pose. The image corresponds to the prescriptions of the *Aparājitapṛichchha*[4] and the *Agni-Purāṇa*,[5] and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. Another statuette from Mathura (No. 14.495) represents a similar image of Gaṇeśa with all four hands broken (c. 12th century A.D.). An image from this region, now exhibited in the National Museum (No. 66.22), represents four-armed seated Gaṇeśa, bearing a tusk in his front right hand, while all the other hands are broken. He is represented in the usual fashion with his proboscis turned to the left.

Nṛitta-Gaṇapati

According to the *Āgamas*, the dancing Gaṇeśa should have eight hands, seven of which hold noose, *aṅkuśa*, cakes, battle-axe, tusk, snake, ring, and the remaining hand is shown in the dancing pose. His left leg is slightly bent and the right one raised up in the air in the dancing posture.[1]

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[1] LVIII, 58.

[2] *Supra*.

[3] *Supra*.

[4] *Supra*.

[5] 50, 23-26.

The images of Nṛitta-Gaṇapati are classified in the following order :—

1. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with two arms.
2. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with four arms.
3. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with six arms.
4. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with eight arms.
5. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with ten arms.
6. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati with sixteen arms.

Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa with two arms

The figure of the dancing Gaṇeśa was first sculptured in the Gupta period in which the deity is two-armed, pot-bellied, have a single tusk, and his proboscis is turned to the left (Mathura Museum No. 1064).

Four-armed Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa

The dancing Gaṇeśa on the niche of one of the temples at Jageshwar, Almora, is artistically executed with fine bends, raising his right leg in the air and the left slightly bent in rhythmic pose. He wears a small crown, bracelets, anklets and *sarpa-yajñopavita*. He is shown as usual with *sūrpa-karṇa*, a single tusk, with his trunk turned to the left. He has four arms, holding a battle-axe in the back right hand, a tusk in the back left, and the front two are held in dancing attitude. Drum and cymbal players and Vidyādharas are also carved in the relief. On the basis of style, the image may be placed in c. 9th, 10th century A.D. (Fig. 57). A statue from Baijnath shows the four-armed deity in dancing posture. He is shown as above, and carries a battle-axe and rosary in the right hands, tusk and ambrosia pot in the left ones. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Aparājitapṛichchha*[2], and can be assigned to c. 10th century A.D.

Six-armed Nṛitta-Gaṇapati

A frieze from Kanauj is an artistic composition showing the dancing Gaṇeśa with six hands. The deity wears a small crown, necklace, armlets, anklets, *sarpa-yajñopavita* and a loin cloth. He carries an ambrosia pot in one of the right hands which is being tasted by the proboscis turned to the right. His other five hands are shown in dancing postures. The right leg is slightly raised in rhythmic pose. Stylistically, the image may be assigned to c. 9th, 10th century A.D. (Fig. 58).

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[1] *EHI*, I,I, p.59.

[2] *Supra*.

Eight-armed Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa

In the medieval period, the hands of Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa are frequently increased to eight, ten, sixteen or more in number with more ornamentation and profuse elaboration. A sculpture in the State Museum (No. 58.47, F.P. Kampil) represents a fine image of dancing Gaṇeśa, wearing a crown, necklace and *yajñopavita*. The figure of the deity has eight arms, holding in the right uppermost hand a lotus, the right upper hand held in the dancing pose, the right lowest hand is placed on the hip, the left uppermost hand a mace, the left lower hand a staff, and the left lowest hand a *modaka-pātra*; the rest two arms are broken. On the basis of style the sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. The image partly agrees with the description of the *Āgamas* in bearing eight arms but the attributes widely differ[1].

An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 158) shows dancing Gaṇeśa with eight arms, holding battle-axe, noose, lotus and ambrosia pot, whereas the remaining hands are broken. His mount mouse is shown below. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Āgamas*,[2] and may be placed in c. 8th-9th century A.D. The Allahabad image (No. 427) represents almost similar figure of the dancing Gaṇeśa. A statue from Baijnath depicts the dancing Gaṇeśa with the right leg raised and the left stretched forward. He has eight hands, in six of them carrying lotus-flower, rosary, battle-axe, tusk, snake and sweet-pot and the remaining two are held in the dancing attitude. Aśvini-Kumāras, Vidyādharas and drum and cymbal players are also executed in the relief. The image partly corresponds with the *Āgamas*[3] in wielding a battle-axe, tusk and snake, and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. Similar eight armed Gaṇeśa is noticed in the Mathura Museum (No. 189). Anothor eight-armed image is found in the same Museum (No. 53.3670). His two consorts Ṛiddhi and Buddhi are also carved in the relief in accordance with the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[4]. An image in the State Museum (No. H. 18) represents the dancing Gaṇeśa with eight arms, holding a snake by two of his hands held over the head, and a piece of skin or drapery by the other two hands. One of the remaining hands on the right is held in *tarjanī* pose and carries a rosary and the other holds a battle-axe. The left hands hold a *taṅka* and a bowl with sweets. The deity is adorned as usual. The image is remarkable in representing a snake and the drapery over his head. However, the image does not conform with the textual descriptions available. An inscription in *nāgari* character on the pedestal assigns its date to c. 12th-13th century A.D.

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[1] S.B. Singh, op. cit., pp. 89-90, Fig. III.

[2] *Supra.*

[3] *Supra.*

[4] *Op.cit.*

Ten-armed Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa

A sculpture from Burhagaon, Jhansi, represents a beautiful image of Gaṇeśa[1], dancing with the right leg raised and the left one slightly turned. An ornate halo surrounds the back of the head of the deity who is wearing his usual ornaments. He has ten arms, holding in one right and one left hands a snake held over the head ; the other two hands are holding the end of his drapery. The remaining right hands hold a battle-axe and *ḍamarū* and the left a tusk, whereas the other left hand is held akimbo. The two other hands are held in the dancing posture. A pair of *gaṇas* and Vidyādharas are also executed finely in the relief. The sculpture may be placed in c.10th century A.D. A statue in the Mathura Museum (No. 12.252) shows Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa with the left leg raised and the right turned in dancing movement. His proboscis is turned to the right. The deity is ten-armed; the right ones carry a battle-axe, a mace, the other one held near the stomach in dancing attitude and the last two are broken. The left hands hold an ambrosia pot and the ends of his drapery, whereas the rest of the arms are broken. His mount mouse, a male attendant and musicians are artistically carved. The image may be dated back to c.10th century A.D.

Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa with sixteen arms

The Chandpur image, district Jhansi, depicts Nṛitta-Gaṇeśa with sixteen arms. He wears usual ornaments and carries a snake in one of his right hands and a *modaka pātra* in one of the left hands, while the other two are held in the dancing attitude. The remaining hands are broken. Ṛiddhi and Buddhi are standing on either side of the deity. An image from Kanauj exhibited in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 20074) represents dancing Gaṇeśa with sixteen arms, all of which are broken. It is noteworthy that Nandī is carved in this sculpture. These images do not perfectly conform to the canonical prescriptions, and may be assigned to the medieval period.

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[1] *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1965-66, p. 52, Pl. XXXV, A.

Gaṇeśa with Śakti

According to the *Vighneśvara-pratishṭhā-vidhi*, Śakti-Gaṇapati should be seated on the *padmāsana* with a green coloured Śakti by his side, whom he should be embracing about her waist. He should hold a noose and a *vajra*, and be made to look terrific. The *Mantramantrārṇava* indicates that *danta*, *aṅkuśa*, noose and rosary should be placed in the hands and a *modaka* in the trunk of this Gaṇapati, and Śakti decked with all ornaments and gold-laced cloth should be seated beside him.[1]

The earliest representation of Gaṇeśa with Śakti in the *āliṅgana* pose is noticed at Bhumara temple in the Gupta period[2].

The medieval image from Chandpur (Jhansi) shows Gaṇeśa with Śakti, seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. The deity is shown with *gaja-mastaka*, *sūrpa karṇa*, *ekadanta* and capacious belly. He has four hands, holding in the back right a battle-axe, front right a tusk, back left a sweet-pot, and embracing the goddess with the front left hand. She is seated on his lap in the similar pose and wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, necklace, armlets and anklets. Her right hand is thrown round the neck of the deity in embracing pose and the left one is resting on her knee with a lotus tucked in it. The deity has turned his proboscis to the left, caressing the face of his consort. A sculpture from Dudhai, Jhansi, depicts similar figures of Gaṇeśa and Śakti. The deity has a tight upper-garment, a cap over his head with tassels of hair falling on shoulders, and wears his usual ornaments. He is shown with four hands, holding in the back-right a battle-axe, front right an indistinct object, back left a *taṅka* and the front left (obviously embracing the goddess) is broken. His trunk is hanging down. Śakti is similarly seated on his lap with her usual dress and ornaments, and carries a lotus flower in the left hand and embracing the god with the right one. These images partly correspond with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[3] and can be placed in c.10th-11th century A.D. The third sculpture comes from Mathura (No. 15.1112), and may be assigned to c.10th century A.D. on the basis of style. Gaṇeśa is similarly seated in

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[1] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 56-57.

[2] Getty, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, Fig. 9.

[3] 260, 52-55.

lalitāsana, wearing his usual ornaments and has a halo behind the head. He has four hands, holding a battle-axe in the back right, a tusk in the front right, a lotus in the back left and the front left hand is held in *āliṅgana* pose. His consort Śakti is seated similarly on his lap. She wears a *kuntala* head-gear, ear-rings and necklace, and holds a fruit in her left hand. She embraces her consort with the right hand. His mount mouse is shown below. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.[1]

Miscellaneous Images of Gaṇeśa

The image in the State Museum (No. 56.286) represents the mutilated bust of four-armed Gaṇeśa, holding an ambrosia pot in the left hand. The remaining hands, tusk and trunk are broken. On his body are shown a *yajñopavita* and a torque, *kirtimukha* and *vyāghra-mukha* pendants, alternately suspended from a beaded string. The head-dress consists of a fillet with a *kirtimukha* decoration. The third eye on the forehead indicates that the figure may be of Haridrā-Gaṇapati.[2] The sculpture came from Unchagaon, district Sitapur, and belongs to c.10th century A.D. Another pedestal of a Gaṇeśa image from the same Museum (No. 56.287) depicts the ankleted feet of the deity, and his mount mouse is carved below. On the base of the pedestal are shown two peacocks holding garlands issuing from *kirtimukhas*. The image may be assigned to c.10th century A.D.

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[1] *Supra*.

[2] *EHI*, I, I, pp. 58-59.

CHAPTER V

DEVĪ

In Hindu pantheon, Devī occupies an important position among the five principal deities, symbolising as she does, the universal energy, pure knowledge and absolute truth. Even today, she commands the deep devotion of *Śāktas*. It is to be pointed out that the antiquity of Devī or Mother-Goddess is greater than that of any other deity, and her worship was prevalent in one form or the other in various parts of the world, right from prehistoric times. However, the antiquity of female-worship in India may be traced to the peasant culture of Baluchistan.[1] But more definite proof of her worship comes from the terracotta figurines[2], seal amulets[3] and ring-stones[4] found at the Harappan sites. One of these figurines represents mother-goddess in the nude with a curious head-dress and a cup on either side bearing smoke stains, obviously caused by the burning of oil or incense.[5] Another curious representation of the mother-goddess on a terracotta seal shows her upside down, with her legs flung apart and a plant issuing from her womb. This is a typical depiction of the goddess of fertility. With the mother-goddess may also be linked up the practice of human sacrifice in order to propitiate her as we may infer from the representation of a man on the other side of the seal, threatening a female figure with sickle like object in his hand. The woman sits with her hair dishevelled, and her hands flung up in an attitude of imploring mercy.[6]

In the *Vedic* period, Devī enjoys a position inferior to that of the great male gods, and she is repeatedly referred to by various names. The goddess Aditi is the mother of Varuṇa and other seven sons including Mārtaṇḍa.[7]

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[1] Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 127.

[2] Ernest Mackay, *Early Indus Civilisation*, pp. 53-54.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58, Pl. XVII, 8.

[4] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, I, pp. 62-63.

[5] Ernest Mackay, *Supra.*, p. 53 ff., Pl. XVI-2.

[6] *DHI*, pp. 167-68, 489; Marshall, *MIC*, Vol. I, p.52, Pl. XII, Fig. 12.

[7] *Ṛigveda*, II, 28, 3; X, 72, 4-9.

Soma pays obeisance to her merciful light.[1] Sarasvatī, Hotrā, Bhāratī and Ilādevī are requested to partake of *yajña* offerings, and are offered seats.[2] Another goddess Pṛishṇi is the mother of Marudgaṇas.[3] The goddesses Vāk and Rātri suggest the concept of Śakti permeating the whole universe.[4] The goddess Vāk is the supreme deity and also the source of power of such male gods as Rudra, Vasu and Āditya, etc.[5] Ushā is also referred to in the *Ṛigveda*[6]. We must, however, remember that though the mother-goddess in her manifold manifestations was held in high esteem by the *Vedic* Āryans, she was not yet anthropomorphically represented or worshipped.

The female deities gained in status in the later *Vedic* period in as much as they came to represent the primary energy of Brahma with which he created the universe.[7] In the *Kenopanishad*, the goddess Umā-Haimvatī reveals to the gods the knowledge of Brahma.[8] By the time of the *Sūtras* a new development took place. The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* refers to Śiva along with his consort known as Bhavānī, Īśānī, Rudrāṇī and Ārgeyī.[9] By the time of *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, the position of Rudra's consort is well established, and she is worshipped like the god himself,[10] and has several epithets, such as Durgā, Āryā, Bhagavatī, Mahā-Kālī and Devasaṁkīrti, in all her aspects, benign as well as malign. The perfect synthesis of these aspects is found in the *Devī-Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* and afterwards in *Śāktism*. In the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna invokes Durgā's blessing for victory in the forthcoming battle[11] which is indicative of her position and power in popular belief. The *Purāṇas* relate a number of legends to exalt her position.[12] The *Devī-Māhātmya* stresses the cumulative energy of the numerous female deities to establish the supermacy of Devī. She combines aboriginal elements with the concept of Śakti and the hidden powers of the seven gods. And she is worshipped later in her three emanations, auspicious, fierce and sensual by her devotees, including the *Kāpālikas*, *Kālāmukhas* and the *Śāktas*.[1] The *Tantras* developed around these forms of Śakti called Ānandabhairavī, Tripurasundarī and lalitā, etc. and metaphysical doctrines, such as Saṁbhavadarśana came into existence.[2] Thus Devī occupies an exalted position by the time of the *Purāṇas*, and is conceived as the supreme deity, called Śakti in *Śāktism*. Moreover, she is independently worshipped at par with the other gods, though still associated with Śiva in *Śaivism* and Vishṇu in *Vaishṇavism* in various forms. One more aspect is added to her personality in as much as she is conceived as the slayer of demons, and like the other gods as a benefactor of the righteous. The *Devī-Māhātmya*[3] in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* refers to her many such forms as she "will" kill Śuṁbha and Niśuṁbha at the end of *Dvāpara* and the begining of *Kaliyuga*. She "will" also be born as Nandā to the cowherd Nanda-gopāla. Further, she "will" kill the demons Viprachitta and his family, and "shall" be called Raktachaṇḍikā. She would also appear as Śatākshī with a hundred eyes out of the body of Pārvatī for removing famines. In the form of Śākambharī, she "will" rescue the living beings with vegetables and "will" kill the demon Durgama and so be called Durgā Devī. Moreover, she "will" proceed to the *Himālayas* and assume the terrific form of Bhīmā, and "will" kill the demon Aruṇa through a swarm of wasps (*bhramaras*) and so be called Bhramarī. It is further stated that the unmanifested Devī takes the three forms of Lakshmī, Mahā Kālī and Sarasvatī representing the *Rajasa*, the *Tamasa* and the *Sāttvika* attributes or *guṇas*. Under the Mahālakshmī command Brahmā took Sarasvatī as his consort, and the universe was born out of them. Śiva took Pārvatī as his consort, whereas Lakshmī herself chose Vishṇu as her consort and protected the universe. Thus the *Devī-Māhātmya* gives the origin of the cosmic gods and goddesses from the supreme deity Mahālakshmī who is the cause, creator, protector and the annihilator of the universe.

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[1] *Ṛigveda*, VII, 83, 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 142, 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 160, 3; I, 85, 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, X, 125, 127.
[5] *Ibid.*, X, 125, 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, X, 35, 3.
[7] *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad*, IV, 1.
[8] III, 12.
[9] Yaduvanshi, *Śaiva-Mata*, p. 49.
[10] II, 5-6; III, 3, 3.
[11] *Bhīshmaparva*, 23, ff.
[12] *Harivaṁśa*, VV, 23, 36, ff., *Mārkaṇḍeya*, ch.82.

The representation of Devī on coins may be traced back to c.2nd, 3rd century B.C. The earliest representations of Gaja-Lakshmī may be seen on the tribal coins from Ujjain and Kauśāmbī, dated from c. 3rd century B.C. and also on the coins of Viśākhadeva, Śivadutta and Vāyudeva of Ayodhya, assigned to c. 1st century B.C.[4] She is also represented on the coins of Azilises,

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[1] *VSMRS*, p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

[3] I, 88, 38-51.

[4] J. Allan. *op. cit.*, pp. 131-4, 149, 187, 190-1.

Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa.[1] On the coins of Azes, Lakshmī stands with a flower in her right hand.[2] Her figure is also found on the Pañchāla coins[3] and those of Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, Purushadutta and Satraps of Mathura like Śivadutta, Hagamāsā, and Bhadraghosha of Pañchāla.[4] The figure of Devī is also found on the coins of the Kushāṇa Kings.[5] Vasudeva issued coins with the figure of goddess, seated on a throne, holding *keśabandha* and a cornucopia in her hands.[6] In the third century A.D., the Sassanian king Vasu also issued coins with the figure of a goddess, whose identity, like that of the female figure on Vasudeva's coins cannot be established. The Gupta coins represent the goddess seated on a lion, holding a lotus flower on cornucopia in her left hand and a fillet in her right hand, and occasionally her feet resting on a lotus which led Allan to describe her as Lakshmī or Ambikā.[7] Her figures also appear on the several early-medieval coins.

Inscriptions, too, contain references to various goddesses. The Bihar epigraph of the reign of Skandagupta refers to the *Mātṛikas* along with Skanda.[8] The Nāgārjuna cave inscription of Anantavarman relates the story of the killing of Mahishāsura by Devī.[9] The Baijnath inscription mentions the goddess Durgā who is benign as well as dreadful.[10] Thus the numismatic and epigraphic sources indicate the early popularity of the Devī cult and corroborate the evidence gleaned from literature.

In course of time Durgā-Pārvatī, Lakshmī and Sarasvatī became most popular among goddesses in Hindu pantheon. They occupied important positions among gods and became consorts of the principal deities—Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā, respectively. A number of sculptures were carved representing their different forms from the Śuṅga-Śātavāhana period.

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[1] J. Allan, *op*. cit., p. *256*.

[2] *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, I, p. 129, No. 30.

[3] *CAI*, p. 86, Pl. VIII, Fig. 4, 5.

[4] J. Allan, *op.cit*., pp. 210-12, 252, 270-71, 283 etc. On the Kuninda coins, Lakshmī stands on a lotus. Gardner, *op.cit*., p. 85, Pl. XIX, 5, but Banerjea presumes (on the basis of the forepart of a lion present beside the deity) that it represents *Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī*, *DHI*, pp. 134-35.

[5] Huvishka issued coins with the figures of Nānā and Umā, Whitehead, *PMC*, I, p. 197, Pl. XVIII, 135 and 136.

[6] *Lahore Museum Catalogue of coins*, Pl. XIX, 227-30.

[7] *CGCBM*, LXXII, LXXIII, LXXXIII.

[8] *CII*, III, Pl.VI, p. 47.

[9] *Ibid*., Pl. 31, pp. 223-26.

[10] *EI*, I, p. 104.

Pārvatī

The figure of Pārvatī should have four arms, carrying a rosary, images of Śiva and Gaṇeśa and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Her abode lies between *agnikuṇḍas*. She may also be represented as standing upon the back of a godha and having four arms, holding a lotus flower and a rosary in two of them; the other two are held in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.[1]

It is noteworthy that the earliest representations of female figures on several stone-rings at Patna accompanied by various animals including the lion, belonging to the Śuṅga period, may or may not include Durgā; but they atleast point to the concept of her later form associated with the lion.[2]

The figure of Pārvatī was sculptured in the Kushāṇa period in the region of Mathura. She is depicted as performing penance (Mathura Museum No. 15.879) to win Śiva in marriage. The goddess stands in the *samabhaṅga* pose between two flames symbolising *pañchāgni-tapana*. She wears *jaṭābhāra*, and holds a *śakti* in the right hand, while the left is held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose. Another statuette from Mathura exhibited in the local Museum (No. 1044) represents the four-armed Pārvatī standing on one leg, performing *tapas* in the midst of four flaming altars. She touches the Śiva-liṅga and Gaṇeśa with her hands and is accompanied by two female figures seated on lotus. A bearded male figure, probably Agni, is also represented. On the basis of style the image can be assigned to the early-medieval period. Two more images representing the penance of Pārvatī are exhibited in the same Museum (Nos. 1100 and 1104).[3]

The medieval sculpture from Gopeshwar (Chamoli) is however, unique in representing the penance of the goddess in conformity with the textual description. Pārvatī is seated in *svastikāsana* on a pedestal, and has *jaṭābhāra* falling on her shoulders, and wears no other ornaments. A *yogapaṭṭa* passes around her body and legs, and she is shown in a meditative attitude performing *tapas*. She is four-armed, holding lotuses in the back two hands and the front two which probably rested on the lap, are now lost. Rao[4] described such an image by the name of Kshamā who should be seated in *padmāsana*, engaged in the practice of *yoga* with a pacific face. *Yogapaṭṭa* goes round her back and crossed-legs. However, the attributes of the hands of the present image do not tally with his description, according to which the deity should carry a trident in one hand, the other hand being in the *varadamudrā* (Fig. 59).

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, p. 360.
[2] *DHI*, pp. 172-73.
[3] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 155.
[4] *EHI*, I, II, p. 367.

The sculptures representing Pārvatī in the post-Gupta period are *sthānaka* or *āsana mūrtis*. The *sthānaka* images are either standing on a pedestal or on a *godha* whereas the *āsana* mūrtis are shown as seated on Nandī, lotus, or on a throne. The images of Pārvatī are frequently four-armed.

Sthānaka Mūrti on a pedestal

An image from Jageshwar represents the *sthānaka mūrti* of Pārvatī in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing finely combed hair, ear-rings, necklace, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra*, *mekhalā* and *sārī*. She is four-armed, holding lotuses in the back two hands, a peculiar *kamaṇḍalu* with spout in the front left and a rosary in the front right hand raised in the *abhayamudrā* fashion. Her *sārī* with criss-cross design and heavy girdle shows the Tibetan influence as we occasionally find in the hilly images. Jayā and Vijayā, the female attendants, are shown on either side. The image may be assigned on stylistic grounds to c. 10th, 11th century A.D. (Fig. 60). The description of the goddess almost tallies with that of Umā who holds a rosary, lotus, *kamaṇḍalu* and mirror[1]. Another sculpture from the same place is perfectly similar to the one described above, and a slightly earlier date- c. 9th-10th century A.D. may be assigned to it. Another image from the same location represents Pārvatī similarly executed holding a lotus flower in the back right, a rosary in the front right, *agnipuñja* (flame) in the back left and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left hands (c. 9th century A.D.). A slab in the Allahabad Museum (No. 256) shows the four-armed Pārvatī with a *śakti* and spouted-*kamaṇḍalu* in the left hands, a lotus flower in the upper right, while the lower right hand is held in *varadamudrā*. A lion and a deer are shown below (c. 12th century A.D.).

The colossal image of Pārvatī from the Baijnath temple in Almora is carefully carved and profusely ornamented. The image is interesting in as much as it also represents miniature gods and goddesses. The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right ear, and an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the left, *hāra*, *vanamālā*, *kaṭisūtra*, *keyūra* with *kīrtimukha* design, *kaṅkaṇa*, *aṅgada*, and embroidered drapery. She is shown with four arms, carrying in the back two lotus flowers, and in the front left a *kamaṇḍalu*, a rosary and a *śruk*, while the front right is held in *varadamudrā*.

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, p. 360.

The sculpture is profusely carved with the figures of several gods and goddesses, such as, Lakshmī, seated on a lotus, Jayā, Vijayā, Brahmā, Agni, Śiva on Nandī, Gaṇeśa, Gaṅgā, Bhūtagaṇas and Vidyādhara with artistic beauty (c. 9th-10th century A.D.). The image tallies with canons[1] in having a rosary, *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus. A sculpture in the State Museum, too (No. 60.368) remarkably represents Pārvatī in accordance with the canon's prescription.[2] She is similarly standing and holds a Śiva-liṅga in the back right hand, Gaṇeśa in the back left and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left; the fourth arm is broken. The attributes perfectly agree with the description of the text, and the image may be assigned to c. 12th century A.D. A similar representation of the goddess is also noticed in the Mathura Museum (No. 1177).[3]

Sthānaka Mūrti on a godha

A medieval sculpture from Jageshwar shows the goodess Pārvatī standing on a *godha* (in accordance with the text) in *samabhaṅga* pose. She wears her usual ornaments, and holds a *śruk* and an *akshamālā* in the back right hand, a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left, while the front right hand is shown in *varadamudrā*; the fourth hand is broken. Śiva-liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, lion and female attendants are beautifully carved in relief (Fig. 61). The image agrees with the text in having a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* along with one hand posed in *varadamudrā*.[4]

Āsana-Mūrti of Pārvatī

The images of Pārvatī are shown as seated on a pedestal, throne, lotus, Nandī or Śiva-liṅga. She wears her usual dress and ornaments, and a halo often surrounds her person. She is frequently shown with four arms, holding different attributes.

Āsana Mūrti on a pedestal

A sculpture in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 647) shows four-armed Pārvatī, seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal, wearing her usual ornaments. She carries a trident and a *mātuluṅga* fruit in the two right hands, a noose in one of her left hands; the fourth one holding a child in her lap.

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[1] *Āgamas*, *EHI*, I, II, p. 360.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 156.

[4] *EHI*, I, II, p. 360.

Āsana Mūrti on a throne

A sculpture from Baijnath represents Pārvatī seated on a throne. She is four-armed, carrying a fruit and *kheṭaka* in the front and back left hands, respectively; the right arms are broken.

Padmāsana Mūrti

An image from Gopeshwar shows the figure of Pārvatī seated on a lotus[1], wearing a deer-skin and her usual ornaments. She has only two arms, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand and the right hand is held in the *abhaya* pose.

Āsana Mūrti on Nandī

A statue from Sagaleshwar (Chamoli) represents Pārvatī seated on Nandī in *lalitāsana.* She is depicted with four arms, holding a fruit in the front left, *śakti* in the back left, snake in the back right, while the front right hand is shown in *abhayamudrā.* A curious statuette from Jageshwar represents Pārvatī simultaneously seated on Nandī and a lion together. A big halo surrounds her person. She carries a trident and snake in the right hands and a bell and a fruit in the left hands. An image of Pārvatī is noticed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 195) in which she carries a book and a water-vessel in the left hands and a trident and rosary in the right.

Āsana Mūrti over a Śiva-liṅga

An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 244) is remarkable, as it shows the goddess seated on a Śiva-liṅga in *lalitāsana*, a unique combination of male and female energy. The liṅga has a *brahma-sūtra* at the top. The goddess wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and carries a trident and *ḍamarū* in the right hands and *khaṭvāṅga* and an indistinct object in the left ones. On stylistic grounds, these sculptures may be assigned to c. 9th-10th century A.D.

Some remarkable images of Pārvatī

These images have certain peculiar features which are not found in other groups. A few statuettes in the Mathura Museum (No. 1105 and 1038) show four-armed Pārvatī holding conch[1] with two hands in front of her breast. The other hands hold a sword and *nāgapāśa*. On the right side a miniature *liṅga* and on the left Gaṇeśa are shown. A pair of springing lions are also carved on the other sculpture (No. 1038). Another very interesting image in the same Museum (No. 1258) shows the goddess Pārvatī standing in *tribhaṅga* pose and playing on *viṇā*. On her left a Śiva-liṅga is installed on a pedestal. V.S. Agrawala[2] points out that she is represented here in her Vaishṇavī aspect, as indicated by a miniature figure of Garuḍa standing on the right side in *añjalimudrā*. The head, attributes and the left arm are lost. An image from Gopeshwar is unique in showing Pārvatī with the figure of Vārāhī emerging out of her *prabhāvali* on the proper left side. The goddess has only two arms and holds a bell and a *chāmara*. This suggests some relationship of Pārvatī with the seven Divine-Mothers which, however, cannot be ascertained owing to the lack of description in the canons. These sculptures may be assigned to the medieval period. A similar image is also noticed in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 25).

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[1] The lotus-seat is referred to in the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*, *EHI*, I, II, pp. 338-40.

Durgā

The name Durgā-Vairochanī occurs for the first time in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* along with Kātyāyanī and Kanyā-Kumārī as a synonym of Ambikā, the consort of Rudra.[3] She became an important deity by the time of *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra*,[4] and was worshipped fervently.

The iconographic features of this goddess are mentioned in the *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas* with her nine manifestations (Nava-Durgā) as Rudrachaṇḍā, Prachaṇḍā, Chaṇḍogrā, Chaṇḍanāikā, Chaṇḍā, Chaṇḍāvatī, Chaṇḍarūpā, Atichandrā and Ugrachaṇḍā.[5] Rao gives similar list of Nava-Durgās from *Skandayamālā*[6].

According to the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*, the image of Durgā should have three eyes and a pacific countenance. She should be standing in the *samabhaṅga*, *dvibhaṅga*, or *tribhaṅga* pose, having prominent breasts, big hips and adorned with *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and other ornaments. She may stand upon a lotus, on the head of a buffalo or be seated on a lion. She should be sculptured with two, four, six or eight arms. In case of two arms, she should carry a trident and a noose, or a parrot or mirror and a blue lily. If she is four-armed, she may carry a noose and *aṅkuśa* in two of her hands, while the remaining two are to be held in *varada* and *abhaya* poses. If she has six arms, she should carry a noose, *aṅkuśa*, *śaṁkha* and a *chakra*; the remaining two should be in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. If she is eight-armed, they should carry a conch, discus, trident, bow, arrow, sword, shield and noose.[1]

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[1] The *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* mentions conch in the hands of the goddess, if she is six or eight-armed, *EHI*, I, II, pp. 338-40.

[2] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 156.

[3] X, 1, 7.

[4] III, 3, 3.

[5] *Agni-Purāṇa*, 50, 8-11.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 356-57.

About half a dozen images of *Siṁhavāhinī*-Durgā of the Kushāṇa period are exhibited in the Mathura Museum. The goddess is four-armed, and wears coiffured hair or *jaṭā-jūṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, a large number of bangles and a beautiful drapery. She is frequently shown either standing or sitting over her mount, the lion.[2] One of her hands is held in *abhayamudrā;* the other akimbo and the remaining two hold a trident and *śakti*[3] or a shield[4]. Another statuette in the same Museum[5] is six-armed,[6] carrying a sword and *śakti* in the right hands and a Śiva-liṅga, shield and a *ṭaṅka* in the left. The front right hand is shown in *abhayamudrā*, while the front left holding a *ṭaṅka* is akimbo.

An interesting figure of two-armed Durgā in the State Museum (No.B.592) is assignable to the Gupta period. The deity with the right forearm broken is seated in *lalitāsana* over a couchant lion. She wears a fine *sārī* with folds, *keyūra*, *kaṭaka*, *nūpura* and *ekāvali*, and the upper part of her body appears to be bare. She holds a spear in her left hand. The figure tallies with the description of the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*[7]. It is almost certain that in the Gupta period Durgā was identified with Pārvatī or Umā, the consort of Śiva. A terracotta sculpture in the Mathura Museum depicts Pārvatī on a lion in *lalitāsana*, with Skanda seated on her left thigh[8]. Another headless image of Durgā from Mathura (No. 1283) is assignable to the Gupta period.

In the post-Gupta period, Durgā is represented with four, eight or ten arms with further elaboration in the artistic treatment of the image. The images may be classified according to their number of hands.

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[1] *EHI*, I,II, pp. 338-42.
[2] Mathura No. 214/A.
[3] Mathura Nos. 592, 724.
[4] Mathura No. 2028.
[5] Mathura No. 42, 2947.
[6] The six-armed Durgā is mentioned in the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*, (*EHI*, I, II, pp. 338-40).
[7] *Supra.*
[8] Mathura No. 14. 411.

Durgā with four hands

A few sculptures of this variety are noticed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 183), Mathura Museum (No. 1033), at Gopeshwar and in the British Museum (No. 110). The Bharat Kala Bhawan sculpture shows the bust of Durgā, beautifully executed with developed breasts and her usual ornaments, carrying a sword in the upper right hand and an unidentified object in the lower right and a shield and noose in the other left hands. The statuette in the Mathura Museum represents Durgā with four hands seated on two lions placed back to back and accompanied by two attendants. On the basis of style these sculptures may be assigned to c.7th-8th century A.D. The sculpture from Gopeshwar shows the goddess Durgā standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus, wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra*, *aṅgada*, *kaṭisūtra* and a fine *sārī*. She possesses four arms, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left, a bow in the back left, a rosary in the back right, while the front right hand is held in *varadamudrā*. On her right is a couchant lion and on her left are running deer, not usually to be seen elsewhere. The image may be assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D. These sculptures are in wide variation with the textual descriptions. The medieval sculpture in the British Museum was found in this region. It represents standing image of Durgā with four hands; the attribute in the right upper hand is damaged and the lower right hand is shown in the *varada* pose. Both of the left hands are broken. She is attended to by three female figures and devotees. The head of the lion is lost.[1]

Durgā with eight arms

A statuette from Deogarh shows the eight-armed goddess in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing her usual ornaments. She carries a lotus flower, a sword and trident in the right hands and a noose in a left hand; the others being broken. Moreover, the front right hand is shown in *varadamudrā*. On either side is a seated lion. The sculpture is characterised by the plastic conception of the later-Gupta period. The sword, trident and noose are shown in accordance with the canonical prescription.[2] The statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 1047) is almost executed according to the texts in showing the eight-armed deity with a noose, bow, shield and *kamaṇḍalu* in the left, and a *chakra*, sword, lotus in the right hands.[1] The remaining eighth hand on the right, is in *abhayamudrā*. The goddess is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which rests on the back of two lions facing opposite directions. Flying Gandharvas and attendants are also shown (c. 8th century A.D.). An image from Gopeshwar represents the eight-armed Durgā seated on a lion. In her left hands, she carries a bell, a dagger, a bow and an arrow, and in the right ones a sword, a shield and a ring, the last one held in *abhaya* posture. The bow, arrow, shield and sword are shown in conformity with texts.[2] A statue in the State Museum (No. 55. 287) shows the goddess Durgā standing in *tribhaṅga* pose and wearing her usual dress. She holds in her hands a *chakra*, rosary, mirror, trident, lotus, and a shield, while the front right and left hands are held in *abhaya* and *kaṭyāvalambita* poses. Another image in the same Museum (No. 62.119.4) represents the eight-armed goddess on a lion with a mirror, trident, noose and a bow in her left hands and a sword, an arrow and a shield in the right; the last one being held in *varadamudrā*. The trident, noose, bow, sword and arrow are in agreements with the iconographic texts.[3] These sculptures may be assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

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[1] *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 45.

[2] *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*.

Durgā with ten arms

A sculpture from Jageshwar shows the goddess Durgā seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion, wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, anklets, girdle and fine drapery. She has ten arms, carrying in the left hands a shield, *aṅkuśa*, bow, trident and *kamaṇḍalu*, and in right ones *paraśu* and arrow, the others being broken. On her right Gaṇeśa is seated with folded hands and on her left is a female attendant. On stylistic basis the sculpture may be assigned to c.7th-8th century A.D. An image in the State Museum (No. 0.252) shows the ten-armed Durgā seated in *lalitāsana* with her right foot planted on a lotus. In her right hands, she carries a sword, a rosary, *vajra*, *chakra*, and arrow, and in the left ones a trident, snake, bow, *kamaṇḍalu* and shield. The image may date back to c. 12th century A.D.

It is noteworthy that some of the attributes are commonly associated with all the images of the goddess. These are the sword, shield, bow, arrow, rosary, *kamaṇḍalu*, *chakra*, and mirror, etc., which tally with the prescription of the canons. It is, therefore, clear that the images of Durgā were generally sculptured according to the specifications in the texts, excepting minor variations here and there.

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[1] *Op. cit.*
[2] *Op. cit.*
[3] *Op. cit.*

Bhairavī

Bhairavī should have red complexion, and may carry *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa* in her hands. She may also be shown with twelve hands.[1]

An image in the Gurukul University at Hardwar, represents an interesting Devī figure seated on a dog in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, armlets, anklets and a girdle. She has four hands, carrying two swords in the front ones, a shield in the back left and a lotus in the back right hands. As the dog is the mount of Bhairava, it will not be unreasonable to conjecture that the image indicates his consort Bhairavī. The sculpture may be dated to c.12th century A.D.

Mahishāsuramardini (*Kātyāyani*)

The *Vāmana-Purāṇa*[2] records that Mahishāsura defeated all the gods who went to Vishṇu, with Brahmā at their head for imploring protection. On hearing their grievances, Vishṇu and, at his command, Brahmā, Śiva and all the other gods in a rage emitted flames from their eyes, so that a mountain was formed. From thence Kātyāyanī appeared glowing as thousand suns, with three eyes and eighteen arms. Vishṇu gave her a disc, Śiva a trident, Varuṇa a conch, Agni a dart, Yama an iron-rod, Vāyu a bow, Sūrya a quiver-arrows, Indra a thunderbolt, Kubera a mace, Brahmā a rosary and water-pot, Kāla a sword and shield, Viśvakarmā a battle-axe and other weapons, Himavāna a lion, and the other gods several other arms. Thus equipped with all arms, she went to *Vindhya* mountain. Mahishāsura being informed by Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa of her splendid beauty, proceeded to the mountain with a large army for capturing her. He sent his messenger Dundubhi to tell her of the prowess and valour of the demon, and of inclination to marry her. The goddess told the messenger that she would marry the demon if he defeated her in battle. The demon then marched with his army, and a severe battle took place. She killed the army with her arrows and other arms. Thereupon,

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, p. 366.

[2] XVII—XX *Adh.*

Mahisha himself advanced for a personal combat. Kātyāyanī on a lion fought the terrible duel but could not succeed owing to his *māyāvic* powers. At last, Durgā dismounted from her lion and jumped on his back and as soon as he fell, she severed his head with her sword. The *Padma-Purāṇa*[1] states that in the *Svayaṁbhava-manvantara*, Mahishāsura was killed by Vaishṇavī on the Mandaragiri ; he was once again slain by Nandā in the *Vaivasvata-manvantara* on the *Vindhya* mountain ; and thus the personified ignorance was destroyed by personified wisdom (*Jnānaśakti*). Rao[2] thinks that this story might indicate the substitution of the buffalo-totem worship by a form of goddess-worship among certain early primitive tribes in the country.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* states that Kātyāyanī with three eyes should have the colour of *atasī* flower, and be adorned with *jaṭā-jūṭa* studded with *chandra* and other usual ornaments. She should have ten arms, carrying *chakra*, trident, arrow, *śakti* and sword in the right, and shield, noose, bow, *aṅkuśa* and bell in the left hands. The buffalo-demon should be represented below with its head entirely severed and the *Asura* should be sculptured as emerging out of that severed neck, foaming with rage and brandishing his sword in the air and vomitting blood. The goddess should be shown standing with her right foot resting on a lion and the left on the shoulders of the demon, who is attacked and bitten in the arm by her celestial lion.[3] The *Śilparatna* gives a somewhat similar description of the goddess Mahishāsuramardinī.[4] The Devī is named Chaṇḍikā in the *Agni-Purāṇa*. She should have twenty hands, the right ones carrying a trident, sword, *śakti*, *chakra*, noose, *kheṭa*, *ḍamarū*, *saptika*, *āyudha*, with the last one held in *abhayamudrā*. In the remaining left hands, she should carry a *nāgapāśa*, shield, *paraśu*, *aṅkuśa*, bow, bell, banner, club, mirror and *mudgara*. The demon should also be represented in accordance with the textual specification.[5] The image may also possess eighteen arms with slight variations in her attributes.[6] The *Rūpamaṇḍana*[7] and the *Devī-Māhātmya*[8] call the goddess Kātyāyanī who slightly differs from Mahishāsuramardinī in

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1. I, 35 *Adh.*
2. *EHI*, I, II, p. 354.
3. 260, 59.
4. *EHI*, I, II, p. 383.
5. 50, 1-5.
6, 50, 7.
7. 4, 45-46.
8. 11, 1.

iconographic details.[1] The *Purāṇas* preserve a number of stories connected with this form of the Devī.[2]

The image of Mahishāsuramardinī was first sculptured in the Kushāṇa period in the Mathura school of art and about half a dozen statuettes[3] are exhibited in the Mathura Museum. The goddess is four or six-armed, wearing a girdle and *sārī*, and supports a bowl or crown in her raised two hands; the other hands carry a *śakti* and trident, while the remaining two, sometimes, catch hold of the buffalo-demon. The lion is not associated with the goddess in this period. An image in the same Museum (No. D. 12) shows the goddess Kātyāyanī standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, wearing ear-rings, a double-band *hāra* and thick drapery. She is eight-armed, having a large number of bangles in her wrists. Two of her hands hold a bowl like object over the head; the second and third are broken; and the fourth carries a *khaḍga.* She pokes a trident into the body of the buffalo-demon, and clasps his tail with one of her left hands. V.S. Agrawala[4] assigns the sculpture to the early-medieval period which does not seem to be correct. The archaic sculpture of the image, the large number of bangles in the wrists and the significant absence of the lion, point to an early period, probably late-Kushāṇa.

The Gupta images of the goddess are widely distributed. Some miniature reliefs of this age from Bhita show only two hands,[5] while she was also conceived with twelve hands in the Gupta period.[6]

A four-armed image of Mahishāsuramardinī in the Mathura Museum (No. 842), carrying a sword, a dagger and a noose, is shown as killing the demon in the form of buffalo. Another image of the goddess in the Allahabad Museum (No. 152) is carved in a circular niche of an architrave from Bhumara. The goddess is represented with four arms, carrying a sword in the lower right hand, and striking the buffalo with a trident in the upper right. In her left hand, she carries a shield and with the other left she clasps the tail of the demon. She puts forth her right foot on the head of the demon. It is evident from these images that probably, the lion had not yet found a place with Devī, and the demon was not yet represented in an anthropomorphic form.

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, p. 347.
[2] *Ibid*., pp. 348 ff.
[3] Mathura Nos. 875, 881, 889, 993, 2037 and 2784.
[4] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 159.
[5] *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 86.
[6] Chandragupta cave at Udayagiri, *DHI*, p. 498.

A later Gupta image from Lakhamandal (Dehra Dun) is interesting, as it shows a further development in the iconographic form of the deity by showing the demon in human form rushing out of the severed head of the buffalo who is also attacked by the lion. The dynamic approach to the plastic conception of the deity is clearly visible in this sculpture. She has coiffured hair with *sīmanta, sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the left ear and an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the right, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra* and *mekhalā*. She has four arms, possessing a sword in the front right hand, thrusting the trident into the body of buffalo with the back right, dragging the hair of the demon with the front left; and the last hand carries a shield. She plants her right foot on the back of the buffalo. The demon is shown with a sword and shield in his hands. The slim, yet vigorous body of the deity, the thick lips and the faint approximation to lotus-eyes, the hair-style and the plastic composition of the whole, point to a date in c.7th-8th century. A.D. (Fig. 62). The sculpture agrees with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[1] except in the number of hands.[2]

In the medieval period, the images of Kātyāyanī are four, eight, ten or twelve-armed, holding different attributes. She wears her usual dress and ornaments and the demon is shown as rushing out of the severed head of the buffalo with a sword in his hand. The lion is invariably shown as pouncing upon the buffalo.

Kātyāyanī with four arms

A four-armed image of the goddess from Katarmal, (Almora), shows her dress and ornaments, with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace and an embroidered *sārī*, decorated with an exotic criss-cross, floral and foliage patterns with broad linings, bearing Tibetan influence. She carries a *ḍamarū* in the back left hand and drags the hair of the demon with the front left. The right hands are shown with a sword and a trident killing the demon. The goddess is shown as carrying out the job mechanically and lacks the vitality and force of the image described above. It may be assigned to c.12th century A.D. (Fig. 63). An image in the Mathura Museum (No. 2317) shows four-armed Kātyāyanī with a trident and spear, subjugating the demon with her other two hands. The lion appears in the background. The probable date is c.10th century A.D. In the Allahbad Museum (No. 397), a similar four-armed goddess is seen with a sword, *chakra* and trident; the last hand is broken (c.12th century A.D.). The figure of the buffalo-demon and the other features agree with the canon's prescription.[1]

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[1] *Supra*.

[2] It can be somewhat compared with that of Mahishāsuramardinī image from Java, Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation*, Pl. LVIII.

Kātyāyanī with eight arms

A few sculptures representing the eight-armed Kātyāyanī are found in the State Museum with minor variations in their attributes. These are carved in conformity with the texts and represent almost identical features. The goddess wears her usual dress and ornaments and kills the demon with a trident held in her two front hands. The Mahishāsura is shown as coming out of the severed head of the buffalo with a sword in his hand. The lion is also shown as pouncing on the buffalo. One of the sculptures (No. G. 68) shows the goddess with a shield, bell and bow in her left hands, and a sword and arrow in the right ones; the last being broken. The attributes held by the goddess are in accordance with the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[2] (c.8th-9th century A.D). The other image (No. G. 400) carries a *vajra* in the left hand and a ring and *śakti* in the right. The remaining hands are shown with the same attributes as in the previous image (c.9th century A.D.). The third image (No. H. 24) represents eight-armed goddess with a *chakra* in the right hand, while one of the left hands catches the hind leg of the buffalo. In the other hands, she carries similar attributes (c. 13th century A.D.). A similar image of the eight-armed Kātyāyanī is exhibited in the Allahabad Museum (No. 650). It may be assigned to c.9th century A.D. These images can be compared with that of Mahishāsuramardinī figure found on Vaital Deul Temple (Puri).[3]

Kātyāyanī with ten arms

The sculpture from Baijnath shows the ten-armed deity with her usual ornaments. In the left hands, she carries a shield, arrow, an indistinct object and with the fourth hand she drags the hair of another demon standing below with an unsheathed sword; the fifth hand catches hold of the hair-knot of the buffalo-demon. In the right hands, she holds a bow, a *ḍamarū*, a ring and a *pāśa*, and with the fifth thrusts a trident into the belly of the *Asura* who is shown with a sword in his right hand and obstructing the insertion of the trident with the left. The portrayal of the goddess is full of vigour and energy (c. 10th century A.D.). This sculpture almost agrees with the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[1] except the attributes ring and *ḍamarū* which are not mentioned in the text. An image in the Mathura Museum (No. 541) represents the ten-armed Kātyāyanī with her head and attributes lost. The demon is usually shown as elsewhere. An interesting feature of the image is the figure of Vārāhī seated in *utkuṭikāsana* over the recessed band. In the upper corners are two-armed goddesses whose heads and attributes are missing except a *triśūla* which indicates that they represent Māheśvarī. The sculpture may be dated to c. 10th century A.D.

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[1] *Op.cit.*

[2] 260, 59.

[3] *HIIA*, p. 116, Fig. 218.

Kātyāyanī with twelve arms

Two images of the twelve-armed goddess, one at Baijnath and the other in the Bharat Kala Bhawan deserve mention here. The image from Baijnath shows the deity with *jaṭāmauli*, necklace, *yajñopavīta*, armlets, anklets, bangles, bracelets and an embellished girdle. The image is carved in the round and shows vigour and vitality. In her right hands, she carries a sword, a dagger, arrow, a human head and trident piercing the body of the demon. With a right and a left hand she upholds a ring over her head, and with one of the broken left hands she drags the hair of the demon; the other hands are missing. The buffalo-demon and the lion are depicted as usual. The image partly meets the characteristics of the Devī described in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[2] which, however, credits her only with ten arms. Moreover, it must be pointed out that the number of her hands was never fixed universally. In some of the medieval sculptures, she is depicted with sixteen or thirty-two hands[3]. The sculpture in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 177) depicts a similar twelve-armed Kātyāyanī with a sword, *chakra*, arrow, bell, shield and a trident in her right hands, and a bow in one of her two extant left hands. The other left hand drags the hair of the demon as usual. The image shows some variations with the text. Both the sculptures may belong to c. 10th century A.D. It is noteworthy that these sculptures are in wide variation with that of Kātyāyanī image from Māmallapuram in which the battle scene is depicted between the goddess and demon with their armies.[4]

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[1] *Supra.*

[2] *Supra.*

[3] *DHI*, pp. 499 ff.

[4] *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation*, Fig. LIX.

Eighteen-armed Kātyāyanī

A massive image from Mahoba represents Kātyāyanī with eighteen hands, holding sword, discus, *ḍamarū*, *mūsala*, arrow, *kamaṇḍalu*, club, trident in the right hands; the other right is held in the *varada* pose and a severed head, conch, bow, bell, *turahī*, shield, bowl, dagger in the left hands; the other one is raised. The image is recently rejuvenated.

Sapta-Mātṛikās

The concept of the seven Mothers may be traced in the *Ṛigveda*[1] but the *Purāṇic* list of seven or eight Mothers must have taken several centuries to develop. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* furnish interesting facts about the origin and evolution of the concept of the *Sapta-Mātṛikās.*[2] The *Varāha-Purāṇa* mentions eight mothers by including Yogeśvarī with Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. It is further stated that these *Mātṛikās* represent eight bad mental qualities, Yogeśvarī represents desire; Māheśvarī anger; Vaishṇavī covetousness; Brahmāṇī pride; Kaumārī illusion; Indrāṇī fault-finding; Yāmī or Chāmuṇḍā tale-bearing; and Vārāhī envy. It also adds that the legend of the killing of Andhakāsura[3] is an allegory, representing spiritual wisdom fighting ignorance. Śiva, as the spirit of *vidyā* fights with Andhkāsura, the darkness of *avidyā*. The harder *vidyā* tries to eliminate *avidyā*, the more does, the latter increases. This fact is represented by the multiplication of the figures of Andhakāsura. Unless the eight bad qualities are altogether controlled by *vidyā* and kept under restraint, it can never succeed in putting down *andhakāra.*[4]

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* states that the *Mātṛigaṇas* should be sculptured in harmony with their respective gods[5]. According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*, the *Sapta-Mātṛikās* should be sculptured as follows. The four-faced Brāhmī with fair complexion, riding on a swan, carrying *kuṇḍa*, *akshapātra*, *akshamālā* and *śruk*; Śankarī seated on a bull, carrying a bow and arrow in her right hands and *chakra* in the left; Kaumārī of red colour, riding on a peacock, possessed of two arms and wielding a spear; Vārāhī as a maiden, equipped with a staff, sword, club and conch, or holding in her two right hands a conch a *chakra*, and a club and a lotus in the left ones, sitting on a buffalo; Indrāṇī holding a *vajra* in her left hand; Chāmuṇḍā standing on a *nara-vāhana* and possesses three eyes with sunken body, erect hair, emaciated belly, wearing a tiger-skin and having a *paṭṭiśa*, a human-skull, a trident and a dagger[1]. The *Āgamas* also give similar descriptions of the *Sapta-Mātṛikās* including Vaishṇavī.[2] Rudra-Chāmuṇḍā may also be represented with eight arms, wielding in them a bow, a *kheṭa*, a banner, a human-skull, a *kartarī*, a trident and a noose. One of the right hands should be held in *varadamudrā* and she should wear an elephant-skin.[3]

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[1] V. S. Agrawala, *Devī-Mahātmya*, Preface, iii.

[2] *Śivamahā-Purāṇa*, *Rudrasaṁhitā*, V, 44-49 *Adh.*

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] *EHI*, I, II, pp. 381-82.

[5] 58, 56. The *Vishṇudharmottara* also records that *Mātṛikās* should be sculptured in accordance with their respective gods and have similar emblems, III, 73.

The images of *Sapta-Mātṛikās* belonging to the Kushāṇa period were found round about Mathura, and about a dozen and a half are exhibited in the local Museum. The early Kushāṇa images representing *Sapta-Mātṛikās* are either standing, or seated in *bhadrāsana* with their right hands held in *abhayamudrā* and the left ones holding a *kamaṇḍalu*. They (Mathura Nos. F. 38 and 126) are shown as simple female figures without any distinguishing symbols or vehicles. Their individual traits are not yet depicted. They all wear a similar dress consisting of a skirt, *kuṇḍalas*, *kaṅkaṇa* and *keyūra*, and are flanked by two *āyudhapurushas*[4]. The further evolution of the image of *Sapta-Mātṛikās* is to be marked (Mathura Nos. F. 31 and F. 34) in the representation of a child in their lap in various attitude. Soon, however, the distinguishing features of the Seven-Mothers were introduced in the form of different animal and bird heads for different divinities.[5] Still these figures carry a child in their left lap and the right hand is held in the *abhayamudrā*. In the last stage of their evolution, all the *Mātṛikās* were distinguished by different vehicles and attributes.[6] However, the image of Indrāṇī in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 20362) does belong to the Gupta period. She is gracefully seated in *bhadrāsana* on a pedestal, and has slender arms, an attenuated waist, broad hips and big bosom. She wears three-tier Jūḍā, big ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bracelets, waist-band and anklets. She is two-armed, carrying a *vajra* in her left hand and an indistinct object in the right. A remarkable feature of the image is that the entire body of the goddess is covered with eyes, which tallies with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[1] mentioning a thousand eyes of Aindrī. The present image was not produced as part of a *Sapta-Mātṛikā* panel; yet it points to the worship of one of the seven Mothers.

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[1] 50, 18-22.

[2] *EHI*, I, II, p. 383.

[3] *Matsya-Purāṇa*, 260-59.

[4] It is noteworthy that all the Mothers are not always shown together. Relief No. 1024 shows only three figures, whereas No. 1179 has only two.

[5] Mathura Nos. 2491, 1002, 15. 1179 ; State Museum No. O.250. The *Agni-Purāṇa* mentions different names for these animal and bird-headed deities, 219, 8-11 ; 146,6.

[6] Mathura No. 552.

In the medieval period, the Divine Mothers are either carved together in a group, or independently as one or two deities on a pedestal.

Sapta-Mātṛikās carved in a group

The slabs representing such panel are found in the Mathura and State Museums, and at Baijnath (Almora) and Rikhian (Banda). The Seven-Mothers are carved on a slab, flanked by the figures of Vīrabhadra or Śiva on one side and Gaṇeśa on the other. The Divine Mothers are Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī; Vaishṇavī, Indrāṇī, Vārāhī, and Chāmuṇḍā, sculptured like their counterparts along with their attributes and respective vehicles. The figures may be shown either standing or sitting over their mounts. The sculpture from Varanasi, now in the State Museum (No. H. 34) is a complete slab with seven Divine-Mothers accompanied by Śiva playing on a vīṇā, and carrying a trident and a bowl on the right side, and Gaṇeśa on the left with an ambrosia pot. The Seven-Mothers are seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose on their respective vehicles and their descriptions are as follows :— Brahmāṇī-She is represented four-faced with matted locks, necklace, armlets and anklets, and seated on a swan. The *yajñopavīta* is the common feature of all the goddesses. She holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand and a rosary in the right. Māheśvarī-The figure of the goddess is seated on Nandī. She wears *jaṭā-jūṭa* and *sarpa-kuṇḍala.* In her left hand, she carries a trident and in the right a *bilva* fruit. Kaumārī-Usually seated on a peacock, the goddess Kaumārī is adorned with *keśabandha* and other ornaments, and carries a *śakti* in her broken hand. Vaishṇavī- The goddess is beautifully executed with *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and other ornaments, and is shown as sitting on *Garuḍa*. She holds *chakra* and *padma* in the upper left and right hands, respectively; the others are broken but seem to have held a *gadā* and *śaṁkha*. Indrāṇī- She is seated on the elephant Airāvata. The broken right hand, probably holds a *vajra* and the left is placed on the knee. Vārāhī- The boar-headed deity is seated on a buffalo, holding in her left hand a bowl from which she drinks and a *taṅka* in the right hand. Chāmuṇḍā- The goddess is represented as an ugly old woman with an emaciated body, sunken eyes, seated on a corpse, and has a terrific face. She wears a skull-garland, and a *khaṭvāṅga* rests on her left shoulder. The other left hand holds a *taṅka*, the right lower a bowl, the contents of which she seems to be tasting; the last hand holds an indistinct object. The pedestal has an inscription of one line in characters of c. 8th-9th century A.D. and that seems to be the probable date of the image. The panel is partly treated in accordance with the description of *the Agni-Purāṇa.*[1]

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[1] *EHI*, I, II, *Appendix* C. p. 153.

Another slab in the State Museum (No. H. 33, Fig. 64) is interesting as it shows a deity with *nara-vāhana* and six Divine-Mothers with porcine heads, and a bull seated at their feet. The boar-headed goddesses hold a child, each in the left arm, and the child touches the mother's breast. They hold a lotus-bud in the right hand. The porcine faces, the children in the laps and the lotuses in the hands are the remarkable features of the sculpture, suggesting derivation from the Kushāṇa art in which similar figures were sculptured. The sculpture seems to date from c. 10th century A.D. A broken slab from Baijnath shows the five remaining Mothers executed as they are in the image H. 34. They represent Brahmāṇī with a book instead of a rosary, Vārāhī, Kaumārī Vaishṇavī and Māheśvarī with a mirror (c. 10th century A.D.). Another slab from the same place shows five Mothers, -Vaishṇavī with a *śaṁkha* instead of a lotus, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā; the last figure is indistinct. A slab in the State Museum (No. H. 83) shows similar figures of *Sapta-Mātṛikās* with a slight variation in the attributes of Kaumārī who holds a *kukkuṭa* in the left hand and ofcourse, a *śakti* in the right. Moreover, Nandīśvara is shown as a bull-faced figure, holding a bowl in the left hand, while the right is held in the *varadamudrā*, giving a gift to a human being standing below. A broken panel in the Mathura Museum (No. 40. 2874/1) shows the three extant Mothers with four arms: Kaumārī with a *śakti* and book in her left hands and feeding a peacock with the right; Vaishṇavī with a child in her lap; Vārāhī with a trident, bell and a dagger. A broken slab in the State Museum (No. 56. 358) shows the three Mothers, Brahmāṇī with a book and *śruva*; Māheśvarī with a trident and a lotus; and Kaumārī with broken hands. A similar panel in the Allahabad Museum (No. 624) represents the *Sapta-Mātṛikās*, executed with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. These sculptures almost agree with the description of the canons.

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[1] *Supra.*

Two broken slabs from Rikhian (Banda) represent Divine-Mothers with four-arms. One of them shows Māheśvarī with trident and mace in the right hands and spear and lotus in the left ones; Kaumārī with a spear and sword in right arms, and a bell and a fly-whisk in the left ones; Vaishṇavī with a mace and lotus in the right hands and a bow and conch in the left ones; Vārāhī with an *aṅkuśa* and a battle-axe in the right hands and a mace and several heads in the left ones. The other slab shows Māheśvarī with swords in two hands and a bow in one of the left hands; Gaṅgā seated on a *makara* and possessing *śruva*, bell, snake and staff in her hands; Vārāhī with a staff, lotus, severed human-head and a *taṅka*, and Chāmuṇḍā with a bowl, mace, staff and a human corpse. The goddesses are shown with their respective *vāhanas*. The interesting feature of the image is the representation of Gaṅgā(?) among the Divine-Mothers. These images partly agree with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. However, they may also represent Yoginīs, instead of usual *Sapta-Mātṛikās*. These panels of Seven Mothers almost resemble with that of found at Tanjore.[1]

Independent Images of Divine-Mothers

The representations of the Divine-Mothers with one or two deities seated together on a pedestal are frequently noticed in the medieval period.

Vaishṇavī and Kaumārī

A sculpture from Baijnath represents the two goddesses seated together on their respective mounts in *lalitāsana*. Vaishṇavī is shown with *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, *vanamālā*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra*, *aṅgada*, *kaṭisūtra*, and a halo on the back of her head. She holds a discus in the back left hand, conch in the front left and a lotus-stalk in the back right; the front right hand is held in *varadamudrā*. Kaumārī with matted-locks and usual ornaments, feeds a peacock with her left hand, while the broken right hand wields a *śakti*. A *prabhāvalī* surrounds her person. An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 174) shows only Vaishṇavī with her usual attributes, including a *gadā* in the back right hand.

Brahmāṇī with a single face and two arms

A statue from Baijnath depicts Brahmāṇī seated on a lotus, wearing *jaṭā-bhāra*, *yajñopavita*, *rudrākshamālā*, armlets, anklets and a girdle. She carries a rosary in the right hand, a fruit in the left, and her mount swan is shown on either side. An image from Gopeshwar also shows a two-armed deity, seated in *utkuṭikāsana* with her vehicle swan below. She carries a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand and an *akshamālā* in the right.

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[1] H, K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 195, Fig. 13-A.

Brahmāṇī with four arms

A niche in a Chandpur temple shows Brahmāṇī, seated in *lalitāsana* with her vehicle. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and her usual ornaments. She is four-armed, wielding a *pustaka* in the back left hand, a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left, a *śruva* in the back right and a rosary in the front right hands. An image from Jageshwar also shows a four-armed deity, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* and a rosary in two of them; the other two hands are broken. The swan is shown as nibbling a fruit.

Four-faced Brahmāṇī

A slab in the Allahabad Museum (No. 1003) has a standing figure of Brahmāṇī in *tribhaṅga* pose with four faces. She is profusely ornamented but her four arms are broken. A female devotee is seated below with folded hands, and a swan is standing on her right. Another sculpture from Jamsot, exhibited in the Allahabad Museum (No. 1058) represents a seated image of four-faced Brahmāṇi with *tilaka* mark on the forehead. She holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in the back left hand and the remaining three are broken.

Māheśvarī with two arms

A statue from Gopeshwar shows Māheśvarī seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on Nandī, wearing a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra* and *hāra*. She possesses two arms, holding a trident in the right hand and a fruit in the left.

Māheśvarī with four arms

A slab in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 186) depicts the four-armed goddess with elaborate ornamentation. In her left hands, she holds a mirror and an indistinct object and a lotus in one of her right hands; the other being broken.

Māheśvarī with a bull-face

A sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 8) shows the bull-faced deity, seated with a child in her lap. Sūrya with lotuses in his hands and a female attendant are carved in relief. Another statuette in the same Museum (No. 1093) represents the ox-headed goddess Māheśvarī, seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose on Nandī with a child in her lap. She has a trident and a noose in her hands. A Śiva-liṅga is also shown in relief.

Kaumārī

An image from Jageshwar represents the goddess Kaumārī wearing a crown over the *kākapaksha* hair, necklace, armlets and anklets, and seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*. She is two-armed, carrying a *śakti* in the right hand and feeding her mount peacock with the left. A statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 10.104) shows the goddess Kaumārī with matted locks, necklace and armlets, and seated in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal. Her mount peacock is also shown.

Indrāṇi

The statue from Baijnath shows the goddess Indrāṇī, wearing a crown, coiffured hair with *jūḍā*, ear-rings, necklace and a thick drapery. She is seated on Airāvata elephant with half turned body and has two hands, holding a lotus flower in the right hand and the left one is broken (Fig. 65). An image from Jageshwar depicts Indrāṇī with her usual ornaments, seated in *lalitāsana* with a child in her lap; the right hand is broken. Her vehicle elephant is shown below.

Vārāhi

The sculpture from Jageshwar shows Vārāhī seated in *lalitāsana* on a buffalo. The boar-faced deity wears a crown, *hāra*, armlets and anklets, and carries a *chāmara* and lotus in her right hands and a bell and a bowl in the left. An image at Gopeshwar similarly represents the deity. An image in the Mathura Museum (No. H.32) shows the four-armed Vārāhī with certain variation in her attributes, as much as she holds a sword, a dagger and a *khaṭvāṅga* and an indistinct object in the last hand. Instead of a buffalo, a human corpse is shown below which is a peculiar feature associated with her. An image of Vārāhī found in this region is now deposited in the British Museum (No. 47). She has a snout of boar and a female-body, and is four-armed, holding a child seated on her left lap. She is mounted on a buffalo, shown with full of vigour and vitality and belongs to the later Gupta period.[1]

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[1] R. P. Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 40 ff.

Chāmuṇḍā

The deity is shown with four, six, eight or twelve arms and her images re classified accordingly.

Chāmuṇḍā with four arms

An image from Jageshwar represents the goddess Chāmuṇḍā seated in *lalitāsana* on a *nara-vāhana.* She wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa,* ear-rings, armlets, anklets and a garland, and has an emaciated body, flabby breasts and a sunken belly. In her four hands, she carries a *khaṭvāṅga* and a human head in the left, and a *paṭṭiśa* in the right; the fourth one is broken. The fore-finger of the left hand is touching the face of the goddess in order to represent her terrific aspect. A sculpture from Gopeshwar shows a similar four-armed Chāmuṇḍā seated usually over a *nara-vāhana* with a fierce look. However, the difference lies in the attributes of the goddess, where she carries a bell and a *ḍamarū* in the back left and right hands. An interesting feature of the image is that she catches hold of the leg of a human figure, and pulls his hair-tuft with the front two hands. The human figure is shown with a dagger. A broken image of four-armed Chāmuṇḍā with a dagger in her right hand is exhibited in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 205).

Chāmuṇḍā with six arms

The statue from Baijnath shows the six-armed goddess in a similar disposition. She wears a skull-garland and holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in the front left hand, the fore-finger of which is inserted into the mouth to make it more fierce; a mirror and a human head are held in the other hands. In her right hands, she wields a *ḍamarū,* a dagger and a bowl. A female attendant is shown on either side.

Chāmuṇḍā with eight arms

Another image from the same place represents the deity with eight hands depicted with a *nara-vāhana* with couchant lion beside. She wields a *khaṭvāṅga,* a bell, a sword and a ring in the left hands and a *ḍamarū,* human head and rosary in the right ones; the last hand is broken. A fragment in the State Museum (No. H. 74) shows an eight-armed Chāmuṇḍā. Two of her hands hold a human body over her head; one of the right hands holds a *ḍamarū,* the other a trident and the rest are broken. In her left hands, she carries a child and rosary. An eight-armed goddess is also noticed in the Mathura Museum (No. 1284). Another image of emaciated Chāmuṇḍā, seated on a *nara-vāhana* is deposited in the British Museum (No. 83). The image was found in this region and the goddess wields a sword, noose, dagger in the right hands; the fourth one is lost. In her left hands, she carries a severed head, snake and bowl, and the last one placed below the left shoulder.[1]

Chāmuṇḍā with twelve arms

A sculpture in the Allahabad Museum (No. 403) shows the figure of the goddess with an emaciated body, wearing a *muṇḍa-mālā* and her other usual ornaments. The *nara-vāhana* is shown below. She has twelve arms, holding a *khaṭvāṅga*, trident, *śakti*, dagger, sword, shield and a human head; and the rest is broken.

No where else such stylistic variations are noticed as in the images of the seven Mothers. The images described above will bear out this observation. The artist was comparatively free to choose the attributes of the seven goddesses. But he had to follow the canonical prescriptions in the portrayal of their common features. It is, however, interesting to note that the independent images of each of the *Sapta-Mātṛikās* are found in profusion mostly in the Uttarakhand. This clearly shows that the worship of individual Mother goddesses was more popular in the hilly tracts in the medieval period.

Lakshmī

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the goddess Lakshmī should be near Hari, wearing white garments, unrivalled in beauty, and should have two hands carrying lotuses. If she is separately represented, she should have four arms, and be seated on a lotus throne. She should carry a lotus-stalk in one right hand and an *amṛitaghaṭa* in a left one; the others should hold a *śaṁkha* and a *bilva* fruit. Behind her back, there should be a pair of elephants pouring out water from jars. Or, she should be made to stand on a lotus, with two hands carrying a conch and a lotus. Two handsome Vidyādharas should be shown flying over her head. Near her, Rājaśrī, Svargā-Lakshmī, Brāhmī-Lakshmī and Jayā-Lakshmī should be represented.[2] The *Aṁśumadabhedāgama*[3] prescribes that Lakshmī should wear golden ornaments and jewelled *makara-kuṇḍalas* in her ears. Her appearance should be very beautiful, with pretty eye-brows, lotus-eyes and well developed breasts. In her right hand, she should carry a lotus flower and in the left a *bilva* fruit.[1]

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[1] R. P. Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 40 ff.

[2] III, 82, 1-16.

[3] Quoted in *EHI*, I, II, pp. 373-74.

It is to be pointed out that the earliest image of Gaja-Lakshmī (Māyādevī?) appears in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period in the early Buddhist art at Sāñchī[2] and Bharhut.[3] However, in the Kushāṇa period, the goddess is shown standing or seated on a lotus round about Mathura. She is two-armed, holding a lotus-parasol in the left hand and the right is posed in *abhayamudrā.* Occasionally, the left arm is held akimbo. She wears a crown or the *kuntala* head-gear, ear-rings, *hāra* and *kaṅkaṇa.* A pair of elephants stand on lotuses performing *abhisheka* by pouring water from the inverted vessels carried in their trunks. In certain images, lotus-creepers are shown on either side of Gaja-Lakshmī. A number of Kushāṇa images of Gaja-Lakshmī are exhibited in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 728, 878, 1008, 1014, 798, 2660 and 2520 etc.).

The Gupta age saw an independent evolution of the image of Lakshmī without representing elephants, while the Gaja-Lakshmī form also retained its popularity, as evidenced by the discovery of so many images in this particular part of the country.

A sculpture representing Lakshmī without elephants

An image in the Mathura Museum (No. D. 10) shows a squatting Divine-Mother with a circular *prabhāvali* behind her head. In her left arm, she holds a child who is seated on her knee and touches her breast. The two stalks, issuing from the pedestal and terminating in lotus flowers, help her identification with the goddess Lakshmī. The attenuated waist, broad-hips, lotus-eyes and elongated ears of the deity point to a date in the early Gupta period. This form again came to the fore in the later Gupta and medieval period which produced independent images of Lakshmī.

Gaja-Lakshmī

A colossal slab in the State Museum (No. 55.201, F.P. Bhitari, Gazipur) bears the standing figure of Gaja-Lakshmī in *samabhaṅga* pose with a beautiful

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1. *Agni-Purāṇa*, 50, 15.
2. C. Kar, *Classical Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 34.
3. *HIIA*, p. 43.

body and graceful contours, wearing *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, anklets, girdle and a fine drapery. The two-armed deity has an oval face, a broad nose and well developed breasts, and holds a lotus-bud or fruit in the right hand and a noose in the left. Two elephants performing *abhisheka* along with male attendants are depicted in the relief. The image is a fine piece of the Gupta art, and agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, except for the noose which is not mentioned there (Fig. 66). The panel in the Gupta Temple, Deogarh, represents a typical Gaja-Lakshmī seated in *padmāsana*, wearing curly hair with *Jūḍā, kuṇḍalas, hāra, kaṅkaṇa, keyūra, girdle* and a fine drapery. She has two arms, holding a *padmapatra* in the left hand and the right is held in *abhayamudrā*. On either side, an elephant stands on a lotus, the stalk of which issues from the *āsana* of the goddess. The elephants carry an inverted jar, each in their trunks consecrating the deity. The panel may be assigned to c.5th-6 century A.D. The figure of the deity tallies with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[1] A similar image of Gaja-Lakshmī is exhibited in the Mathura Museum (No. 985). Another sculpture in the same Museum (No. D. 2) slightly varies in as much as the goddess holds in her two hands lotuses on which the elephants stand. Two statuettes in the same Museum (No. D. 17 and 2498) show the *sthānakamūrti* of Gaja-Lakshmī consecrated similarly (c. 5th century A.D.).

The post-Gupta images of Gaja-Lakshmī have the same features with the addition of some new deities, such as Gaṇeśa and Kubera associated with her.

Gaja-Lakshmī with Kubera and Gaṇeśa

A relief in the Mathura Museum (No. 1119) and another in the State Museum (No. 0.251) depict the goddess Lakshmī seated in *lalitāsana* between Gaṇeśa on the right and Kubera on the left. She wears ornaments and carries lotuses in both the hands, the stalks of which rise from two vases placed below. On these lotuses stand two elephants consecrating the deity. Kubera holds a cup and mongoose, while Gaṇeśa eats *laḍḍū* (c. 7th-8th century A.D.). Another statuette in the Mathura Museum (No. 223) shows the goddess with only Kubera who is pot-bellied and holds a bowl in his right hand; the left hand is broken. Other features are similar. V.S. Agrawala[2] thinks that the presence of Lakshmī beside Kubera shows that she was once looked upon as a consort of the god of wealth (c. 7th-8th century A.D.). A sculpture from the Varāha temple, Deogarh, represents Gaja-Lakshmī, seated in *utkuṭikāsana*. She wears her usual dress and ornaments, and has two hands, holding a lotus flower in the left, while the right is held in *varadamudrā*. The elephants are shown in their usual positions. Her attendants, Rājaśrī and Jayā-Lakshmī[1] stand on either side (c. 7th and 8th century A.D.). The sculpture agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[2]

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[1] *Supra*.

[2] *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 151.

In the medieval period, too, the independent Lakshmī and Gaja-Lakshmī forms are similarly shown with more elaboration in their treatment. The images of the deity are four or six-armed on which basis the classification has been made.

Gaja-Lakshmī with four arms

The panel in one of the medieval temples at Chandpur (Jhansi), represents Gaja-Lakshmī, seated in *lalitāsana* over a cushion. The goddess has four arms, carrying a conch in the front left hand, while the front right is held in *sandarśanamudrā*. The back two hands hold lotus flowers, over which elephants are standing, consecrating the goddess. The image partly agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. A lintel in the Sarnath Museum (No. 621) shows the goddess in *padmāsana* between *Navagrahas*. She has four arms, holding an *amṛitaghaṭa* and rosary in the two front hands and lotuses in those at the back. Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī are also carved.

Gaja-Lakshmī with six arms

A sculpture in the State Museum (No. 0.115) represents Gaja-Lakshmī seated on a lotus in *lalitāsana*, wearing her usual ornaments. A male attendant is standing on either side. The elephants are also there, pouring water. The goddess has six arms which are all broken (c.10th century A.D.).

Garuḍāsīna-Lakshmī

A sculpture from Jageshwar shows the goddess seated on Garuḍa in *lalitāsana*, wearing *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *aṅgada*, *kaṭisūtra* and *vanamālā*. She is four-armed and holds a conch in the front left hand, a discus in the back left, lotus flower in the front right and *gadā* in the back right. A big halo surrounds her person (c. 10th century A.D.).

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] *Supra.*

Padmāsīna-Lakshmī

The colossal bust from Rani-Mahal (Jhansi), depicts a female figure, sculptured in the round with prominent breasts, wearing *hāra* and girdle. She is seated in *lalitāsana* over a cluster of lotus-stalks. Both the legs are partly broken. The lotus-seat is supposed to be the the *āsana* of *Lakshmi*[1] and as such, the image may be identified with this deity. The image may date from c. 10th-11th century A.D.

Sarasvatī

The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that the goddess Sarasvatī should be represented with four hands, carrying a rosary, a trident, a book and a *kamaṇḍalu*, and should be adorned with all her ornaments. Or else, she should have only two hands with a *viṇā* and *kamaṇḍalu.*[2] According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*[3] and the *Devī-Māhātmya*[4], Sarasvatī should be shown with a book, a rosary, a *vīṇā* and an *aṅkuśa.*

It is noteworthy that the image of the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, was not sculptured in the Kushāṇa period, except in the form of a Jain deity found at Mathura and exhibited in the State Museum (No. J. 24). The image is interesting from the iconographic point of view. The Jain goddess Sarasvatī[5] is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on a pedestal; the headless deity wears armlets and a *dhotī*, the ends of which are thrown over the left shoulder. She has a developed bosom, broad hips and fleshy thighs. The two armed deity holds a *pustaka* in the left hand; and the broken right hand is raised up to the shoulder. An attendant is shown on either side. An inscription in Kushāṇa characters refers to the installation of the image by a Jain devotee and mentions the year 54, obviously of the Kushāṇa era. The image is remarkable in as much as it shows the earliest iconographic features of Sarasvatī. The book was associated even at this stage with the goddess of learning. However, this feature became usual in the later period when a number of arms and attributes were added to the images of the goddess. Several images were sculptured in the medieval period as *sthānaka* and *āsana mūrtis*.

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[1] *Vishṇudharmottara, Op. cit.*

[2] III, 73, 14 ; 64, 1-7.

[3] 50, 16-17.

[4] Quoted in *EHI*, I, II, pp. 377-78.

[5] V. Smith, *Jain Stupa and other antiquities of Mathura*, p. 56, Pl. XCIX.

Sthānaka Mūrti of Sarasvatī

The *sthānaka* images of the goddess are found at Jageshwar and in the State and Allahabad Museums, artistically carved in the medieval fashion. The image from Jageshwar represents Sarasvatī, standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing matted-locks, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, anklets, bracelets, girdle and an embroidered *sārī*. She is shown with four arms carrying lotus flowers in the back two hands, a rosary in the front right and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand. On either side, a female attendant is carved in relief. Interestingly, the goddess holds lotuses in the back two hands like Lakshmī but as matted-locks, rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* are the characteristics of Sarasvatī, she is identified with the deity. The image partially agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The fragment of a colossal image of Vishṇu in the State Museum (No. H. 150) also represents the *sthānaka mūrti* of Sarasvatī, with *keśabandha*, necklace, ear-rings and armlets, etc. She is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, playing on the *vīṇā*, The sculpture belongs to the Pāla school of art, and agrees with the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa*. An image in the Allahabad Museum (No. 1005) shows Sarasvatī similarly standing with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, *hāra* and a *vanamālā*. She is four-armed, holding a lotus in the back right hand; while the back left is broken, though traces of a book carried in this hand are visible. She plays on *vīṇā* with her front hands. Her mount swan is shown below. The figure of the goddess is almost carved in accordance with *Devī-Māhātmya*.[1]

Āsana Mūrti of Sarasvatī with four arms

Four-armed images of the deity are exhibited in the State Museum and Bharat Kala Bhawan. The square slab in the State Museum (No. H. 188) bears a medallion with a border of beads, representing inside a lake full of lotus flowers. In the centre of the medallion, Sarasvatī is seated on a lotus, wearing *keśabandha*, *hāra* and her usual ornaments. She has four arms; with two hands she plays on the *vīṇā* and the two back hands catch the end of her drapery. Her legs are shown in a rhythmic pose with the left slightly raised and the right stretched as in the dancing posture. On each flank, a female figure is seated on a lotus, one playing on a flute and the other on cymbals. The image may be identified as that of the dancing Sarasvatī, a rare feature in her iconography. The medallion is beautifully executed in the plastic style of c. 8th-9th century A.D. The deity is partly shown in accordance with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[1]. This image partly resembles with that of four-armed Sarasvatī from east Bengal[2]. Another sculpture in the same Museum (No. H. 23) shows a four-armed Sarasvatī seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* fashion on a lotus. She is depicted with a halo, *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a band of necklace, bangles and the other usual ornaments. The deity holds a *vīṇā* in the front right hand; the other one is broken, and a *pustaka* and a musical rod in the left hands. The swan is carved below. Two pairs are shown as worshipping the goddess with folded hands (c. 10th century A.D.). The image partly meets the description of the *Agni-Purāṇa.*[3] An image in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 187) similarly represents Sarasvatī seated on a pedestal with four arms, playing on her *vīṇā* with the front two hands, and keeping a book in the left hand; the last one is broken (c. 12th century A.D.). Similar four-armed Sarasvatī image found in this region, is now exhibited in the British Museum (No. 55). She holds a rosary in the right hand and a book in the left; the front two hands are playing on *vīṇā.*[4]

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[1] *Op. cit.*

Āsana Mūrti of Sarasvatī with eight arms

A sculpture in the State Museum (No. 56. 412) shows the goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, with her usual ornaments. She has eight arms, carrying a *vīṇā* in the front two hands, while the rest hands are broken. Her mount swan is beautifully carved on the pedestal (c. 11th century A.D.). It would not be out of place to mention that these images partially tally with the description of the texts and in certain cases the artist was free to manipulate attributes according to his notions.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The origin of Gaṅgā has already been traced, while describing the Gaṅgādhara form of Śiva.[5] The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[6] also records that the righteous

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[1] III, 73, 14.

[2] S.K. Sarasvati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 198, Pl. XXXII, 149.

[3] 50, 16-17.

[4] Laurence Binyon and Sir William Rothenstein, *Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum*, London, Pl. IV.

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] VIII, Ch. 18.

Bali held the sacred water, with which Hari's feet were washed, in great reverence on his head; Śiva, too held the same water of Gaṅgā in profound reverence on his head.

According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*, Jāñhavī (Gaṅgā) should be standing on a *makara*, holding lotus and *ghaṭa*. Yamunā may be shown as seated on a tortoise and carrying a *ghaṭa*[1]. The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that Yamunā and Bhāgīrathī should be shown on tortoise and *makara*, respectively. A lotus and a blue lotus should be shown in the hands of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, respectively.[2]

The images of the goddess Gaṅgā and Yamunā were sculptured in the Gupta period for the first time. These are carved in high relief in the true tradition of the Gupta art, imbued with spirituality. Two types of images were carved. Gaṅgā and Yamunā are either shown independently, or each represented along with a male figure.

Independent images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The door-jamb of the Gupta Temple at Deogarh, represents these goddesses wearing *mukuṭa*, *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇa kuṇḍalas* and an elaborate girdle. Gaṅgā stands on a *makara* and Yamunā on a tortoise. The two-armed Gaṅgā carries a lotus in her left hand, and the right is held in *kaṭyāvalambita* pose. The right hand of Yamunā is broken and the left is akimbo (c. 5th-6th century A.D.). The image of Gaṅgā agrees with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The Deogarh collection also has other images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā similarly standing on their vehicles. It is interesting to note that Gaṅgā holds a *ghaṭa* in the left hand as described in the *Agni-Purāṇa* in this particular illustration.

Gaṅgā along with a male figure

The Deogarh collection has another slab of the Gupta period, representing Gaṅgā with a male figure. She is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose on a *makara*, and with a *chhatra* over her head. She carries a *ghaṭa* in the right hand and the left is akimbo. Beside her, a male figure with *jaṭā-jūṭa* is standing similarly with a lotus in the right hand, while the left is kept on the hip. Another male figure is attending his person. The principal male figure appears to be some attendant.

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[1] 50, 17.

[2] III, 52, 19-20.

Yamunā with a male figure

Another Gupta sculpture in the Deogarh collection shows Yamunā standing in *tribhaṅga* pose on a tortoise, and with a parasol over her head. She holds a mirror in her left hand and the right is placed over the hip. Beside her stands a male figure with a lotus in his right hand and the left is held akimbo.

In the medieval period both types of images of the deity were sculptured. The first type consisted of the independent images of the goddesses and the second showed them along with male attendant.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā independently represented

The sculpture from Jageshwar shows Gaṅgā in *tribhaṅga* pose, carved in high relief on a *makara*. She wears a crown, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, anklets and a *dhoti* tied with a girdle; a scarf is falling from the shoulder. She holds a *ghaṭa* in accordance with the *Agni-Purāṇa* in the right hand and the left is held akimbo. On either side, a female attendant with a garland is shown. The image may be assigned to c.10th century A.D. A statue in the Bharat Kala Bhawan (No. 163) shows a similar image of Gaṅgā. In a sculpture of the Mathura Museum (No. 10.137), Gaṅgā is represented as usual but touching the chin of another figure (represented as a *Mithuna* figure).

The door-jamb in the State Museum (No. G. 287) shows the figure of Yamunā partly broken, wearing her usual dress and ornaments and standing on a tortoise. A female attendant is shown on either side. Similar figure of Yamunā is found at Paharapur (Bengal).[1]

Gaṅgā with male attendant

The male figure associated with Gaṅgā in the Gupta age is clearly transformed into the image of a *Pratihāra* in the medieval age. The door-jamb from Burhagaon (Jhansi) represents Gaṅgā with a *Pratihāra* standing beside her, in *tribhaṅga* and *dvibhaṅga* poses, respectively. The goddess with her usual ornaments is shown as standing on a *makara* and holds a *ghaṭa* in her right hand, while the left rests on a pedestal. The *Pratihāra*[2] with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, stands under a *kalpaka* tree. He holds a trident in his left hand and the right one is held in *abhayamudrā* (c. 12th century A.D., Fig. 67).

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[1] *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 119, Fig. 13.

[2] The figure may represent a Śiva-*gaṇa* with matted locks and trident.

Gaṅgā with Vishṇu (?)

An image in the Mathura Museum (No. 16.1205) shows a similar figure of Gaṅgā, holding *ghaṭa* in both the hands. On her right stands a male figure in *dvibhaṅga* pose. He wears a *Kiriṭamukuṭa, hāra, kuṇḍalas* and *vanamālā* and carries a lotus-stalk in his left hand; the right is placed on the hip. The deity may be Vishṇu but this identification is doubtful, as the figure is only two-armed[1] and does not hold any other attributes of the god. It is also probable that the old practice of sculpturing the male figure with a lotus might be continuing in the medieval art. But even then the presence of the *Kirīṭamukuṭa* remains to be explained (c. 10th century A.D.).

Goddess Ekānāṅśā between Balarāma and Kṛishṇa

Ekānāṅgā is the daughter of Yaśodā and sister of Kṛishṇa according to the *Mahābhārata.*[2]

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* states that Ekānāṅśā should be shown between Baladeva and Kṛishṇa, with a hand placed on the hip, and the other holding a lotus. She may be four or eight armed; in the former case she carries a book and a lotus in the left hands and a rosary in the right; whereas the fourth should be held in *varada* pose. In case of eight arms, she holds a bow, a lotus, a *kamaṇḍalu* and a book in the left, and an arrow, a mirror, a rosary in the right hands; the last is held in *varada* pose.[3] According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Ekānāṅśā should be placed similarly between Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. She should carry a lotus in the right hand and the left may be akimbo[4]. In the drama, named *Kaumudīmahotsava*, Vindhyavāsinī is called Ekānāṅgā and she is regarded as the tutelary deity of the Yadus[5].

The icons of Ekānāṅśā along with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa are noticed from the Kushāṇa period onward. These icons are located round about Mathura, depicting the goddess with two arms held in *abhaya* and *kaṭyāvalambita* poses. On her right, Balarāma is shown with a crown and an ear-ring, having four hands, carrying a mace and a plough showing the lion top. The other two arms are held in *abhaya* and *kaṭyāvalambita* poses. On her left, Vishṇu is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose and holding a mace, discus and *amṛitaghaṭa*, while the fourth hand is shown in *abhaya* pose. He wears a high diadem, ear-rings, necklace, armlets and a loin cloth (Mathura Museum Nos. 39.2856; U. 45; c. 19; 15.912 and State Museum J. 89)[1]. The State Museum sculpture (No. G. 58) shows Ekānāṅśā between Balarāma aud Kṛishṇa. The deity is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose in the centre on a lotus, wearing ear-rings, necklace, bracelets, girdle, anklets and a fine drapery. Her hair-locks are arranged in coiffure. She is carrying a lotus in the left hand and the right one is held in *varada* pose. Below on her left and right sides, a male and a female attendants are standing with a *chāmara* and a lotus in their hands, respectively. On her left, four-armed Kṛishṇa is standing with his usual ornaments. He holds a mace and conch in the right hands, discus in the left, while the fourth is placed on the head of a female figure standing below. On the right of the goddess stands the four-armed Balarāma with his usual ornaments. He carries a plough and a wine-cup in the right hands and a pestle in the left; the fourth hand is broken. A few more attendants are shown in the frieze. The sculpture may be placed in c. 9th-10th century A.D. (Fig. 68). The image partly follows the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Vishṇudharmottara* in showing the two-armed Ekānāṅśā between Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, holding a lotus in her left hand which, however, should be shown as *kaṭihasta* (akimbo) according to the texts, and the right hand is shown in the *varada* pose contrary to the prescription of the texts, according to which it should hold a lotus flower[2].

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[1] However, the two-armed Vishṇu is mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, LVIII, 31 ; and *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 60, 2.

[2] *Sabhāparva*, LIX, 9.

[3] LVIII, 37-39.

[4] III, 85, 72.

[5] *Dakshina Bharati Granthamala*, No, 4. p. 68 ; Banerjea also thinks that Ekānāṅśā represents one of the aspects of Durgā, *DHI*, pp. 111, 257.

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[1] Joshi, N.P. *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology*, No. 1, pp. 24-29, Fig. 1-2.

[2] The two-armed Ekānāṅśā from Imadapur (Bihar) now exhibited in the British Museum also shows her right hand in the *varada* pose, whereas the left one carries a mirror (*DHI*, p. 503). This leaves no doubt, regarding the identification of the present deity.

CHAPTER VI

SYNCRETIC ICONS

The sectarian rivalries between the various sects often led to ill-feeling and bitterness and found channel for fabrication of mythological stories, occasionally reflected in iconography. The tendency was, however, arrested by the liberal leaders of religious thought from early times[1] with interpretative reconciliation of the rival creeds, and this rapprochement led to the creation of many syncretic images. These icons either emphasise the sectarian view. To this class belongs for example the image of *Śarabha,* the incarnatory form of Śiva, killing Nṛisiṁha in the composite form of man, bird and beast[2]. Or, they represent rapprochement and unity between the rival sects. And to this second class may be assigned the figure of Hari-Hara, Ardhanārīśvara, Pañchāyatana Śiva-liṅga and Hiraṇyagarbha, etc. Spirit of reconciliation and rapprochement between the divergent sects are present behind this sort of mental bent in religion. The *Upanishads* and *Smṛiti-Śāstras* including *Manu, Yājñavalkya* and *Gītā* were also helpful for the growth of this liberal view and religious thought. And, therefore, many of the liberal thinkers among the various sects could guess that their respective gods were but different forms of the one Supreme Soul. This led to produce *Smārtas* who evolved the system of *Pañchāyatanapūjā*, representing the five principal deities of the Hindu cult as the objects of worship in the form of aniconic emblems[3].

The mental attitude of the alien immigrants into India, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and the Hūṇas was also a contributory factor for the growth of rapprochement between various cults. They had a liberal view towards the different creeds of the Hindu religion which can be illustrated by the coins of these early foreign rulers. The coins of Maues, Pārthian king Gondophares and the great Kushāṇa kings representing the figures of Śiva in varied devices along with other deities of different religions such as Zoroastrian, Brahmanical, Buddhist and rarely Greek[1] can be mentioned in this context. A few coins of Huvishka represent Nānā with Śiva, or Umā with Śiva,[2] bearing a view of cult-syncretism. It is interesting to note that one of the gold coins of the same king represents the composite cult-god Hari-Hara[3]. The remarkable composition on the seal of the Hephtalite Hūṇa chief depicts the composite form of Mihira (Sun god), Vishṇu and Śiva in the early centuries,[4] suggestive of rapprochement between divergent cults. This tendency of reconciliation led to the sculpturing of the syncretic icons from the Kushāṇa period onwards.

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[1] The attempts at reconciliation of the rival creeds may be traced from the early *Vedic* period, *Ṛigveda,* I, 164, 46.

[2] *Śivamahā-Purāṇa, Śatarudrīya Saṁhitā,* III, 12 ff.

[3] *DHI*, pp. 541-42.

The syncretic icons were carved from the early centuries and a number of such images have been discovered in the various parts of the country. These icons are sub-divided as follows in order to facilitate their study.

1. Sahasra-liṅga with composite deities.
2. Composite Śiva-liṅga.
3. Ardhanārīśvara.
4. Haryardha (Hari-Hara).
5. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha (Dattātreya).
6. Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha.

Sahasra-liṅga with composite deities

The *Sahasra-liṅga*[5] from Chandpur, Jhansi, is unique in showing Brahmā mounted on a swan, dancing Gaṇeśa, Sūrya holding lotuses in both the hands along with Bhūdevī-Mahāśvetā, and Pārvatī holding *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand, while the right is held in *varada* pose. These figures are depicted, one on each face of the middle octagonal portion of *Sahasra-liṅga* which is carved with a thousand and one *liṅgas*. On stylistic grounds, the liṅga may be attributed to c. 10th century A.D. (Fig. 69). However, the literary description of this variety has not been known so far. It may also be mentioned that this variety has not been reported as far as known from any other part of the country. It may, therefore, be presumed that the present *Sahasra-liṅga* is a regional type which was conceived in the wake of sectarian reconciliation.

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[1] *DHI*, pp. 543-44.

[2] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushāṇas*, Pl. XXII, Figs. 21-2.

[3] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 148, Pl. XXVIII, 16; *DHI*, pp. 123-24.

[4] R. Ghirsman, *Les Chionites Hephtalites*, pp. 55-8, Fig. 65, Pl. VII, 1.

[5] S.B. Singh, *Syncretic Icons in Uttar Pradesh*, *East & West*, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, p. 340, Fig. 1.

Composite Śiva-liṅga

The *liṅga* from Jageshwar represents four deities, one on each face. The first face depicts Sūrya, standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, and wearing a tiara, ear-rings, necklace and long boots. He carries lotuses in both the raised hands. The second face shows Gaṇeśa in a dancing pose; he carries a lotus in the front right hand, a rosary in the back right, a battle-axe in the back left, and the fourth hand is shown in a dancing posture. Drum and cymbal players are also carved. The third face has the figure of Kārttikeya in *samabhaṅga* pose with *kākapaksha* style of hair and wearing his usual ornaments. He carries a rosary, a *śakti*, a *bilva* fruit, and the fourth hand is lost. A male and female attendants are shown below. The fourth face represents *sthānaka* Pārvatī, carrying a rosary, a trident, a *kamaṇḍalu* and a snake in her four hands. Two female attendants and her mount lion are shown below (Fig. 70). A sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. 58.4720) shows a similar composite Śiva-liṅga. It is partly damaged and has figure of deities such as, Śiva with his *vāhana* Nandī, accompanied by two male attendants; four-faced Brahmā with two female attendants; Vishṇu with broken hands with only the conch extant; and lastly, Sūrya with Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. This sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D., and a corresponding textual description could not be traced[1]. A unique type of Śiva-liṅga with a *chakra* on each of the four faces has been reported from Baijnath (Almora)[2].

Ardhanārīśvara Mūrti

The *Śiva-Purāṇa*[3] records that Brahmā first begot a number of male beings known as *Prajāpatis*, and asked them to create other beings. They were unable to carry out the task and so Brahmā feeling uneasy at the slow progress of creation, prayed to Maheśvara. The latter appeared before him in the composite form of a male-female. Seeing this composite form of Śiva, Brahmā prayed to give a female-half to proceed with the art of creation. His request was granted and thence the creation went on very well. This story accounts for the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva.

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[1] These images can be compared with the *Pañchāyatana*-Śivaliṅga from Bihar (exhibited in the Indian Museum) cf. *DHI*, p. 545, but the absence of Vishṇu in the former image, and of Devī and Gaṇeśa in the latter cannot conceive these plaques as the cult-emblem of a *Smārta* practising *Pañchāyatana-Pūjā*.

[2] M.C. Joshi, *Sanskṛiti* (*Aditya Nath Jha Felicitation Vol.*), pp. 25-29 Pl. VII.

[3] *Śatarudrīya Saṁhitā*, 18-48.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* without giving details, only states that the lord Śiva may be represented as having Pārvatī for his left half.[1] The *Vishṇudharmottara* records that the left-half of the body of the deity should be of Pārvatī, and he should have four hands, carrying a rosary and a trident in the right hands and a mirror and lotus in the left ones. The deity should have one face and two eyes, and should wear all the usual ornaments. He is represented as *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha* in unison known as *Gaurīśvara*, and worshipped by all men[2]. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* states that he should carry a trident and *kapāla* in right hands and a mirror and lotus in the left.[3] According to the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, the Ardhanārīśvara form is the composite aspect of *Liṅga* and *Yoni*, representing Śiva and Pārvatī, respectively and the two create the world[4]. According to the *Āgamas*, the Ardhanārīśvara form should represent the right-half as male or Śiva and the left-half as female or Pārvatī. The male half should have *jaṭāmukuṭa* on the head, adorned with a crescent moon, *nakra*, *sarpa* or an ordinary *kuṇḍala* in the right ear, tiger-skin as garments below the loins, a *nāga-yajñopavīta*, a *sarpa-mekhalā*, and should be awe-inspiring. The right-half of the forehead should have half-an eye sculptured. The left female-half should wear *karaṇḍamukuṭa* or a fine knot of well combed hair, a half-*tilaka* mark on the forehead, *vālikā kuṇḍala* in the left ear, necklace, armlets and anklets. This half portion should be draped in multi-coloured silken cloth covering the body down to the ankle, and also should have the bosom of a woman with a round well developed breast, and should be pacific in appearance. The image of Nārīśvara should have two, three, or four arms. In case of two hands, the right should be held in *varada* pose, or may carry a *kapāla* and the left one may be hanging down or keeping a mirror, a parrot or a flower. If there are three arms, there should be only one on the left side carrying either a flower, a mirror or a parrot. If there be four arms, one of the right hands should be shown in *abhaya* pose and the other carrying a battle-axe, or else in *varada* pose and with a trident or a *taṅka*. One of the left hands may be resting on Nandī and the other kept in *kaṭaka* pose holding a *nīlotpala* in it[1].

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[1] LVIII, 43.

[2] III, 55, 1-6.

[3] 258, 1-7.

[4] I, 99, 6-11.

The images of Ardhanārīśvara, signifying the syncretic character of this form[2] in the union of male and female energies, as Śiva and Śakti are fairly distributed all over the country. First carved in the Kushāṇa age, this composite form continues even up to the present age. The earliest Kushāṇa images (Mathura Museum Nos.S.15, 800 and 874) represent the right-half as male with *jaṭā-jūṭa*, wearing tiger-skin upto the knee and *yajñopavīta*, and the left-half as female with *keśabandha*, feminine face and a well developed breast. She wears a necklace, ear-ring and drapery upto the ankle. A notable feature of these images is the *ūrdhva-retas* aspect, so characteristic of Śiva. Nandī is also shown. The deity is invariably two-armed; the right one held in *abhaya* pose and the left one holding an indistinct object.[3]

The Ardhanārīśvara image in the Gupta period is more slender and delicate having lotus-eyes, elongated ears and an oval face. The two heads from the Mathura Museum (Nos. 362 and 722) may be classed among the best products of the classical tradition of the Gupta age. The image No. 362 represents the right-half with elaborate *jaṭāmukuṭa* formed by matted locks, and a slender crescent is stuck in it. Half of Śiva's third eye is seen on the right half of the forehead, with a *tilaka* mark on the left. The female portion has plaited hair adorned with a crest jewel and a lotus-bud. The ear on this side is adorned with a big *kuṇḍala* which has a pearl-string. The facial features of the right and left portions have distinct male and female characteristics. The sculpture No. 722 preserves only the part of the chest along with the head. On the right side of the chest, a few locks of hair are falling. The left part of the lips, the left cheek and eye are delicately carved. The third eye is present on the forehead, and an *ekāvalī* adorns the neck. The right and left halves are similar to the image described above. These heads of the deity correspond to the description in the *Āgamas*.

In the medieval period, the Ardhanārīśvara images (State Museum Nos. H. 15 and 57.303; Allahabad Museum No. 267) had further evolved in accordance with the canons. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose; the right-half represents Śiva and the left-half Pārvatī. A halo is often shown behind the head of the deity. He is frequently shown with four arms[1]. The deity is also accompanied by figures of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Nandī and a lion. The slab in the Sarnath Museum (No. 624) depicts the Ardhanārīśvara figure with ithyphallic Śiva on the right, showing the continuation of the earliest form of the deity.

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[1] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 323-26.

[2] *DHI*, p. 552 ff.

[3] Mathura No. 2520.

Haryardha Mūrti (*Hari-Hara*)

Another syncretic form of Hari-Hara was produced by combining Śiva and Vishṇu for the first time in the Gupta period. Banerjea traces the beginning of the image to the Kushāṇa period[2] and emphasises its conciliatory aspect with reference to the two major cults of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.[3]

According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the right-half of the Hari-Hara image should be Śiva and the left Vishṇu. He should carry a trident in one right hand; the other held in the *varada* pose, while a lotus and a discus should be shown in the left hands. On his right should be a bull, and on the left Garuḍa.[4] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* gives us a description similar to that of the *Vishṇudharmottara*[5]. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* records that Śiva-Nārāyaṇa should wear their ornaments and carry a conch or discus in one of the left hands; the other holding a mace and a trident in one right hand, while the other is held in *varada* pose[6]. According to the *Śilparatna*[7], *Suprabhedāgama*[8] and *Uttarakāmikāgama*,[9] the left-half of this form should be Vishṇu, and the right-half Śiva. The deity should be standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose and his left portion should be shown with a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *nakrakuṇḍala*, *vanamālā*; while a conch and a discus should be placed in the left hands. The right-half should have a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a rosary in the ear and a garland; while the hands on the right should carry a trident and a rosary. Nandī should also be shown.[10]

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[1] The left-half representing Pārvatī is shown with a mirror in the left hand (No. H. 15). The feature tallies with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.

[2] *DHI*, p. 123 ff.; K. D. Bajpai informs that he has discovered a Hari-Hara image at Malhar (Bilaspur, M.P.) with a *Brāhmī* inscription of c.2nd century B.C. which is yet to be established.

[3] *Ibid*,. p. 546.

[4] Quoted in *EHI*, II, I, p. 334.

[5] IV, 30-31.

[6] 260, 21-25.

[7] XXII.

[8] XXIV.

[9] LX.

[10] *EHI*, II, I, pp. 333-34.

The Haryardha images were produced first in the Gupta-period, The Kuthari Pillar (now in the collection of the Allahabad Museum No. 292) shows a remarkable figure of Haryardha with *āyudhapurushas*. The characteristic features of Vishṇu and Śiva are respectively shown on the left and right halves, consisting of *Kiriṭa*, *kuṇḍala* and *dhotī* on the left, and *jaṭābhāra*, *yajñopavīta* and tiger-skin on the right. The interesting figures of the *āyudhapurushas* represent *chakra* and *triśūla*. The upper hands hold an indistinct object in the right and probably, a conch in the left. The lower left hand carries a discus placed over *chakrapurusha*. Similarly, the lower right hand rests on a two-armed male figure with a three-pronged trident jutting out of his matted hair, identified as a *triśūlapurusha*. The image agrees with the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[1] in bearing a trident, a conch and a discus. In the Mathura Museum (Nos. 1333, 1336 and 2510), the three heads of Hari-Hara, belonging to the Gupta period, are badly damaged. The head-gear of these images is divided into two halves, the right side has matted locks forming *jaṭāmukuṭa*, while the left side has a *Kirīṭamukuṭa*.

A number of Hari-Hara images of the medieval period have been found in various parts of the country, sculptured according to the textual injunctions. A Baijnath sculpture represents the deity in *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing on the left-half *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *vanamālā* and *keyūra* representing Vishṇu, and the right-half is adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *sarpakuṇḍala* and a skull-garland. He has four arms, holding a discus in the back left and a trident in the back right hands; the remaining two hands are broken. On the left and right sides, Garuḍa and Nandī are shown. Moreover on the left recessed corner, *padmapurusha* and on the right Vīrabhadra are also carved. The image partly corresponds with the description of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. A State Museum image (No. H. 119) shows the deity with four arms, carrying a conch and discus in the left hands, and a rosary and trident in the right ones. The other figures are those of Garuḍa, Nandī, *padmapurusha*, Vīrabhadra and Vidyādharas. The image agrees perfectly with the description of the *Āgamas*. An image from Chandpur, Jhansi represents Hari-Hara[2], standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. The deity is ornamented as usual and has four arms, carrying conch and club in left hands and a trident and a rosary in the right ones; the lower one held in *varada* pose. One attendant is standing on either side. The stereotyped image belongs to c. 12th, 13th century A.D. The image concords with the text of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Fig. 71).

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[1] 260, 21-35.

[2] S. B. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 344, Fig. 3.

Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha (*Dattātreya*)

According to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Dattātreya is one of the minor incarnations of Vishṇu.[1] The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* records[2] that there was a *brahmin*, named Kauśika suffering from leprosy. Nevertheless, his wife served him as a god. Once a sage Aṇi-Māṇḍavya cursed Kauśika that he would die before the next sun-rise. His devoted wife ordered the sun not to rise henceforth with her miraculous power of chastity. Thus the sun did not rise and darkness loomed on the universe. The frightened gods requested Anusūyā, the wife of sage Atri, to pacify the wife of Kauśika to allow the sun to rise as usual. She approached Kauśika's wife who allowed the sun to rise on being assured of her husband's safety. Thereupon, the sun rose and though her husband fell down as if dead, he yet came to life atonce and was made healthy by Anusūyā. Immensely pleased, the gods asked Anusūyā to solicit any boon she desired. She prayed that Brahmā, Vishṇū and Śiva should be born to her as sons. Thus Vishṇu was born to her, as desired, in the incarnation of Dattātreya; Śiva as Durvāsā; and Brahmā as Chandra. Dattātreya was a great sage and practised *yogic* austerities, and was surrounded always by recluses.[3] The *Śiva-Purāṇa* also relates the legend with some variations[4]. The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that Dattātreya should be sculptured like Vālmīki[5]. The *Aparājitapṛichchha*[6] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[7] furnish somewhat similar descriptions of the deity under the name of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha. Dattātreya may be sculptured, so that Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva should be standing side by side or sitting in *padmāsana* with their usual attributes.[8]

An image of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha may be seen at Jageshwar and another is exhibited in the State Museum (No. G. 57). The Jageshwar image depicts the deities, standing side by side in *samabhaṅga* pose. Brahmā is shown on the right, wearing *jaṭābhāra*, a necklace, *yajñopavīta*, a girdle and armlets, and has four faces. The deity carries a rosary in the front right hand and a lotus flower in the back right; a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left hand and *śruva* in the

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1. I, 3, 11.
2. XVI, 12 ff.
3. XVI, II, 8.
4. *Śatarudrīya Saṁhitā*, V ff.
5. III, 85, 65.
6. 213, 30-31.
7. IV, 32, 33.

EHI, I, I, p. 252.

back left. Śiva is shown in the centre, wearing *jaṭābhāra*, ear-pendants, armlets and drapery. The four-armed deity carries a rosary in the front right hand, a trident in the back right and a snake in the back left hand, whereas the front left is *kaṭi-hasta*. Nandī on his right and Gaṇeśa on his left are seated below. On the left Vishṇu is depicted with *Kirīṭa*, *vanamālā*, armlets, anklets, and a girdle. He holds a rosary in the front right hand and a mace in the back left. On his right Lakshmī is standing with a lotus in her right hand. The image corresponds to the prescription in the *Āgamas*, and may be placed in c. 11th century A.D. (Fig. 72). A State Museum image (No. G. 57) is almost similarly carved with the deities standing side by side, wearing their usual ornaments. The image slightly varies in representing Vishṇu in the centre and he keeps his right hand in *varada* pose instead of holding a rosary. Brahmā carries a book in the upper right hand, while Śiva holds altogether different attributes—*śakti* in the upper right hand, a lotus flower in the lower right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left hand. The image is executed in accordance with the *Āgamas*, and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D.

Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha

According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, the three forms of Sūrya symbolise the bodies of Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu.[1] The *Śārdā Tilaka Tantra* states that Sūrya is the personification of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.[2] The *Aparājita-pṛichchha* describes the image of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha as the combined form of Sūrya, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva. The deity should be four-faced and eight-armed. Sūrya should be shown on the front face with lotuses in both the hands; Śiva on the right with a trident and *khaṭvāṅga*; Vishṇu on the left with a conch and discus; and Brahmā on the back with a *kamaṇḍalu* and rosary[3].

The Chandpur image in the niche of a Śiva-temple shows the combined figures of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha[4] with three faces, the back one concealed. The front figure represents Sūrya, wearing tiara, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, a girdle over the embellished loin-cloth and long boots. He holds lotuses in both the hands. The left figure shows only one hand (the other concealed), carrying a conch in it and therefore, obviously representing Vishṇu. The right figure also has one hand held in the *varada* pose and probably, represents Śiva. The feet of the side figures are visible beside those of the Sūrya image. On either side, a female attendant is standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with a *chāmara* in her hand. The combined figures of Sūrya, Vishṇu and Śiva indicate that the fourth one should have probably represented Brahmā on the concealed back face and as such, the sculpture is identified as Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha. It partly corresponds with the iconographic description of the *Aparājitapṛichchha*, and may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. An image in the Sarnath Museum (No. 623) probably, represents Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha with three faces (the fourth one concealed) and eight arms which are all broken. The front figure depicts Sūrya dressed as usual on a chariot, drawn by horses (three of them are shown) and the lame driver Aruṇa. The side figures represent Vishṇu and Śiva. The figures of Kārttikeya and Śiva are carved, one on either side. The sculpture may be placed in c. 10th century A.D. The interesting point of the image is that the chariot and horses are also associated with the Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha image, a rare iconographic composition.

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[1] CIX, 71.
[2] XIV, 41-42.
[3] 213, 32-34.
[4] S. B. Singh. op. cit., p. 345, Fig. 4.

CHAPTER VII

ICONS THEIR PHILOSOPHY

Icons are not mere stone objects in the plastic art but they convey the deep philosophical meanings. Actually, they represent the particular deity personified in the bodily form[1]. This is revealed in the *Vishṇudharmottara*[2] through a discussion between Vajra and sage Mārkaṇḍeya. Vajra has doubts about the possibility of Vishṇu residing in the images as he is omnipresent, greatest of all and smaller than smallest, all-pervading, nothing existence in the world without his ubiquitous presence, with *sat* and *asat* (real and unreal) infused in him, and also quintessence of all sense organs and mind. Mārkaṇḍeya removes his doubt by saying that all gods in conformity to their forms, have their images. Similarly, Vishṇu also adopts bodily manifestation in his various incarnations[3]. Moreover, the God has two aspects, the higher and the lower (*Parā* and *Aparāmūrti*). Free from five material elements (*pañchabhūta vivarjitā*), the *Parā* aspect is spiritual[4] where the god is omnipresent, ubiquitous in all particles of the universe with no beginning, middle or end, incomprehensible, supreme power responsible for senses and mind, omnipotent and omniscient.[5] In the *Aparā* form this omnipresent god manifests himself in an image for the satisfaction of the devotees[6]. Actually, his image is made not for the god's sake who is ever satisfied but for the satisfaction of his devotees and their devotion (*bhakti*)[7]. For favouring (*anugraha*) devotees he has allowed his image to be made[8]. It is further enjoined that the bodiless god assumes the body form for the meditation of devotees, for it is difficult to concentrate on formless, while the forms can be easily apprehended[1]. In the end, Mārkaṇḍeya asserts "The gods reside in the image unfailingly, after being invoked through *mantras*. The invocation of the supreme god Vishṇu is to be done for one's own sake[2]." This indicates the reason for making innumerable images of various gods, at all times, throughout the country for the welfare of the devotees.

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[1] *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 103, 1.
[2] III, 108, 3-5.
[3] Ibid., III, 108, 7-9.
[4] Ibid., III, 108, 10.
[5] Ibid., III, 108, 11-13.
[6] Ibid., III, 108, 17.
[7] Ibid., III, 108, 18.
[8] Ibid., III, 108, 21.

The installation of image in the temple was equally significant. An auspicious occasion was chosen, and various rites, rituals, and ceremonies were performed. The images were sanctified with *mantras* (*archā śaucha*) with blowing of conches and beating of drums along with the utterance of the word *Jaya* (victory to the Lord).[3]

The *śāstras* make it clear that for the fulfillment of certain desire, a particular type of god has to be worshipped. One who likes all his desire to be fulfilled, should worship Chaturmūrti. Aniruddha should be worshipped, if one desires *dharma*[4]. For the attainment of *artha*, *kāma* and *moksha*, one should worship Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Vāsudeva, respectively. For begetting a son, one should worship Padmanābha[5] and for acquiring knowledge (*vidyā*) the god Aśvaśiras. For enjoyment of life, one should worship the god lying on the *bhoga* i.e. the hood of the serpent, but for position desirous, he should worship the god sitting on the hood of the serpent. One desiring more corn should worship Matsya[6], and one wanting good health should worship Kūrma. If desiring knowledge, one should worship *haṁśa* or the god Nṛisiṁha. One desiring *vidyā* (learning), should worship Vālmīki or Vyāsa, one liking to be proficient in the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy, should worship Kapila[7]. A man desiring prosperity should worship Varāha, and one wanting success in a court, war and in gambling should adorn Nṛivarāha. The *dharma* desirous should worship *dharma* and Brahman. For destruction of enemy, one should worship Mahādeva[8], and for fulfilling one's vow, he should worship Rāmabhārgava, or Rāma, the son of Daśaratha. One wanting Śrī should worship the consort of Śrī (Vishṇu), and one liking strength should consecrate

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1. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 108, 22-23.
2. Ibid., III, 108, 31.
3. The *Vishṇudharmottara* (*Ad.* 96-101) records this installation ceremony elaborately with pomp and show.
4. Ibid., III, 118, 2.
5. Ibid., III, 118, 3-4.
6. Ibid., III, 118, 5-6.
7. Ibid., III, 118, 7-8.
8. Ibid., III, 118, 9-10.

Balabhadra.[1] This god may also be worshipped for the success of agriculture. Thus the omnipotent gods should be worshipped in a definite form, suitable to a particular desire[2]. But the *nishkāma* (desireless) worship is better than *sakāma* (lustful) worship.

It would not be out of place to discuss the philosophical significance of the various forms and attributes of the five principal deities in this context. The colour of Maheśvara is white which represents *Prakṛiti*[3] (Nature), whereas, the five faces of Mahādeva represent Sadyojāta as earth, Vāmadeva as water, Aghora as light, Tatpurusha as air and Iśāna as sky[4]. The three eyes of each face of Mahādeva represent the sun, the moon and the fire[5]. The *daṇḍa* in the hand of Bhairava is the death itself.[6] The three prongs of the trident represent *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* qualities[7]. The tiger-skin of Śiva represents the various *tṛishṇās* (desire).[8] The citron in the hand of Bhairava indicates the seed of the world. These seeds represent the atoms, constituting the world.[9] The moon-digit on the head of Śiva is indicative of his divine power[10]. His mount bull is symbolic form of divine four-footed *dharma.*[11] *Vasuki* snake, associated with Śiva, represents anger, subduing the three worlds.[12]

Four-faced Vishṇu represent strength (*bala*), knowledge (*jñāna*), sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), and power (*śakti*)[13]. *Bala* is personified in Vāsudeva, *jñāna* in Saṁkarshaṇa, *aiśvarya* in Pradyumna and *śakti* in Aniruddha. The *kaustubha* of Vishṇu suggests pure knowledge[14]. The *vanamālā* of Vishṇu bound the world together[15]. His garment represents *avidyā* which keeps the world going[16]. The *chakra* in the hand of Vāsudeva represents the

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1. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 118, 11-12.
2. Ibid., III, 118, 13.
3. Ibid., III, 48, 19.
4. Ibid., III, 48, 2-3.
5. Ibid., III, 48-9.
6. Ibid., III, 48-12.
7. Ibid., III, 48, 14-15.
8. Ibid., III, 48, 18.
9. Ibid., III, 48, 12.
10. Ibid., III, 48, 17.
11. Ibid., III, 48, 18.
12. Ibid., III, 48, 17.
13. Ibid., III, 47, 9.
14. Ibid., III, 47, 3.
15. Ibid., III, 47, 3-4.
16. Ibid.. III, 47, 4.

rotation of the world[1] or sun but in Vishṇu's hand, it represents air, whereas, *gadā* represents the moon[2]. Lotus emerging from the navel of Vishṇu represents *Mahī* (the earth) and its stalk-the *Meru* hill, but lotus held in his hand stands for water[3]. The *śaṁkha* related to sound, symbolises sky in his hand[4]. The mount Garuḍa represents mind pervading the bodies of all creatures. *Lāñgala* and *mūsala* (ploughshare and pestle) in the hands of Saṁkarshaṇa (Balarāma) represent time and death[5]. The bow and arrows in the hands of Pradyumna represent *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga* philosophy.[6] The *charma* (leather shield) in the hand of Aniruddha is the symbolic illusion, necessary for the creation of the world.[7] The supreme god Vishṇu in the form of Nṛisiṁha is known as *Jñāna* by the devotees.[8] Hiraṇyakaśipu represents *ajñāna*, while Bhagavāna in the form of Saṁkarshaṇa is the destroyer of ignorance.[9] The impurity of people is of three kinds ; arising out of speech, mind and body.[10] Hari in the Saṁkarshaṇa aspect assumes the form of Nṛisiṁha. He is the destroyer of the three vices of the people.[11] Hari as Aniruddha is Varāha, as the embodiment of power[12]. Hiraṇyāksha represents *anaiśvarya* (mightlessness) whom Varāha by means of *aiśvarya* overpowers.

Āditya (Sun) is red in colour as he is the source of all lustre.[13] The seven horses attached to the chariot of Āditya are seven Vedic metres—Gāyatrī, ushṇīka, Anusṭubha, Brihati, Pankti, Trishṭubha and Jagati[14]. Sūrya holds the entire universe by keeping the rays in his hands.[15] By wearing girdle, he bears the entire world.[16] His four wives Rājñī, Rikshubhā, Chhāyā and

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1. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 60, 5.
2. Ibid., III, 85. 17.
3. Ibid,, III, 85, 18.
4. Ibid., III, 85, 17.
5. Ibid., III, 47, 14.
6. Ibid., III, 47, 15-16.
7. Ibid., III, 47, 17.
8. Ibid., III, 78/2-1.
9. Ibid., III, 78/2-5.
10. Ibid., III, 78/2-6.
11. Ibid., III, 78/2, 7.
12. Ibid., III, 79, 1.
13. Ibid., III, 67, 2, 17.
14. Ibid., III, 67, 12.
15. Ibid., III, 67, 13,
16. Ibid., III, 67, 14.

Suvarchasā represent the earth, the sky, the shadow and lustre respectively[1]. On the banner of Āditya, lion represents *dharma.*[2]

The elephant-head of Gaṇapati represents the inflated ego, or the conscious I, the first principle which emanated from the unmanifest Prajāpati[3].

Sarasvatī represents Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī, the foremost of all.[4] Her two eyes stand for the sun and the moon.[5] The four arms of Sarasvatī represent the four *Vedas*[6]. *Kamaṇḍalu* in her hand represents the nectar of all *śāstras* and the rosary represents time.[7] The book in her hand represents all *śāstras*[8]. The *viṇā* in her hand symbolises all achievements (*siddhis*).[9] Lakshmī's nectar-pot represents the essence of water, while lotus in her hand represents wealth[10]. *Śaṁkha* in Lakshmī's hand represents good fate,[11] while *bilva* fruit in her hand indicates the whole world.[12] Anointing Lakshmī, the pair of elephants personify the two *nidhis*, i.e. *śaṁkha* and *padma*[13]. The blue lotus and the mirror in Pārvati's hands represent detachment and pure knowledge.[14]

Thus the images, their various forms, attributes, symbols, weapons, musical instruments and garments etc. have some esoteric meanings with deep philosophical significance for the sake of the devotee so that he may aspire from *Aparā-mūrti* worship to the *Parā-Vidyā*, the highest knowledge in life—'*sarvaṁ khalivadaṁ Brahma*' (Verily, all this universe is Brahma).[15]

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1. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 67, 14-15.
2. Ibid., III, 67, 13.
3. V.S. Agrawala, *Śiva-Mahādeva*, p. 54.
4. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 64, 5.
5. Ibid., III, 64, 6.
6. Ibid., III, 64, 3.
7. Ibid., III, 64, 4.
8. Ibid., III, 64, 3.
9. Ibid., III, 64, 5.
10. Ibid., III, 82, 9.
11. Ibid., III, 82, 8.
12. Ibid., III, 82, 9.
13. Ibid., III, 82, 10.
14. Ibid., III, 48, 15-16.
15. *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, 3 14 1.

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GLOSSARY

A

Abhayamudrā	gesture made with raised right hand, palm turned towards the onlooker, signifying protection.
Āgamic	referring to *Āgamas.*
Agni-Kuṇḍa	fire-altar.
Aiśvarya	prosperity, fame.
Ākāśa	all pervading space, sky.
Akshamālā	rosary of beads.
Ālīdḥāsana	in an archer posture, the right knee being thrown to the front, and left leg stretched in the attitude of shooting.
Āliṅgana	to embrace, embracing posture.
Amṛita	nectar of immortality.
Amṛitaghaṭa	vessel containing the nectar of immortality.
Antariksha	firmament, the intermediate region between the earth and heaven.
Aṅgada	armlet.
Aṅgulas	fingers.
Añjali pose	the palms of the hands are kept close to each other with folded hands in adoration.
Aṅkuśa	a weapon with a sharp metal hook attached to a wooden handle.
Ardha-paryaṅka	a sitting posture, to sit with one leg crossed on the seat, the other one hanging down or placed below.
Āsana	seat or seated posture.
Asura	*a-sura* (not god), demon, enemies of gods.
Atasi	a kind of flower.
Avatāra	the descent of a divinity for the purpose of rescuing humanity from great evil, the incarnation.

Avidyā	ignorance of Self, illusion.
Avyaṅga	a kind of girdle, worn by Sūrya.
Āyudha	weapons, a kind of weapon.
Āyudhapurusha	the personification of emblems of Vishṇu in an anthropomorphic form.

B

Bala	prowess.
Bāṇa	arrow.
Bhāgavata	sect pertaining to Vishṇu, devotees of Vishṇu.
Bhadrāsana	a sitting posture in which legs are crossed as in *kūrmāsana*, and the right and left toes are caught hold of by the right and left hands, respectively.
Bhūdevī	the earth-goddess.
Bhujaṅga-valaya or *Sarpa-valaya*	worn at the wrist by Śiva, a bracelet shaped like a coiled snake.
Bhūsparśa mudrā	the posture of hand touching the earth by the fore-finger.
Bījapūraka	a kind of fruit.
Brahmasūtra	the vertical middle line carved on a *liṅga*.

C

Chakra	discus, one of the Vishṇu's emblems.
Chāmara or *Chaurī*	flywhisk.
Chhatra	parasol, umbrella.
Chintāmaṇi	a kind of gem.
Chinmudrā	the gesture of explanation or exposition, tips of thumb or forefinger touching one another, the other fingers stretched; the palm of the hand is made to face the front.

D

Daityas	sons of Diti and Kaśyapa, rebel demons.
Dakshiṇa	south.
Ḍamarū	small drum in the form of an hour-glass, representing causal sound.
Dānavas	sons of Kaśyapa and Danu, enemies of the gods.
Danta	tooth.
Daṇḍa	staff.
Daṇḍahasta	in Śiva's dance, arms are thrown forward across the body and held straight like a stick or like an elephant's trunk, so also called *Gajahasta*, the hand may be held at the height of the hip, or of the shoulder, or above the head, in the latter case not crossing the body.
Daśāvatāra	ten incarnations of Vishṇu.
Devatā	deity, god.
Devī	goddess.
Dhammilla hair	hair coiled in the form of a knot.
Dhotī	the lower garment, the drapery.
Dhyāna mudrā	meditational pose.
Dhvaja	banner.
Dhanusha	the bow.
Divyalatā	a unique tendril of a plant.
Dikpālas	divine guardians of the four quarters and the four intermediate quarters bearing names of Vedic gods.
Dūrba	a kind of grass.
Dvārapāla	attendant.
Dvibhaṅga	to stand with double side-bends in the body.

E

Ekāvalī	a neck-ornament worn, by Vishṇu.
Ekadanta	one tusk, designation applied to Gaṇeśa.

G

Gadā devī	the personification of the mace of Vishṇu as a female figure.
Gajamukha	elephantine-face, implied to Gaṇeśa.
Gaṇas	host of inferior deities attending on Śiva and Devī, and always following them.
Gandharvas	celestial musician of surpassing beauty.
Garuḍa	vehicle of Vishṇu, a kind of bird.
Ghaṭa	jar, vessel.
Ghṛita	butter.
Guṇa	quality, the three qualities of which all creation is constituted; *Sattva*-pure, ascending; *Rajas*-active, expanding; *Tamas*-obscure, inert, descending.
Guru	spiritual teacher.

H

Hāra	neck-ornament, necklace.
Hasta	hand, arm or hand-pose
Hastimukha	elephantine-face, implied for Gaṇeśa.
Homa	oblation to gods.

J

Jaṭā	matted hair.
Jaṭāmaṇḍala	a circle of matted hair, spread out fan like on the heads of Śiva and Devī.
Jaṭāmukuṭa	a coil of matted and clotted hair.
Jñāna	spiritual knowledge, supreme knowledge.
Jñāna mudrā	the posture indicating spiritual knowledge, the tips of the middle, fore fingers and of the thumb are joined together and held near the heart with the palm turned towards it.
Jūḍā	a knotted hair with protuberance at the back.

K

Kachchhapa	tortoise incarnation of Vishṇu.
Kamala	lotus.
Kamaṇḍalu	an oblong water-vessel with a handle and a spout.
Kaṅkaṇa	bracelets at wrist.
Kāntimaṇḍala	halo remitting rays.
Kalpa	a measure of time lasting from one world creation to its dissolution, one *Kalpa* consists of fourteen *Manavantaras* or ages of Manu, together of 432 million human years.
Kapāla	bowl made of human-skull, or it is a common spherical or oval bowl.
Karaṇḍamukuṭa	a crown made in the shape of a *karaṇḍa* which is similar to a bowl-shaped vessel. It is short in height and small in size.
Kaṭaka-valaya	a kind of girdle.
Kaṭi-vastra	the loin-cloth.
Kaṭi-sūtra	a girdle like rope or thread.
Kaṭakahasta	a posture of hand in which tips of fingers are loosely applied to thumb so as to form a ring.
Kaṭyāvalambita	akimbo, to place the hand on the hip indicating a posture of ease.
Kaumodakī	see *Gadādevī*.
Kaustubha maṇi	a gem worn by Vishṇu on the chest.
Kaupīna	loin-cloth.
Keśabandha	hair tied in a knot.
Keyūra	flat ornament worn on the arm.
Khaḍga	a sword long or short, single-edged or double-edged.
Khaṭvāṅga	curious sort of club made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg, to the end of which a human-skull is inserted through it.
Kheṭaka	the shield made of wood or hide, circular or quadrangular, has a handle at the back.
Kheṭa	see *Kheṭaka*.
Kiñjalkinī	a garland of flowers, worn by *Varāha*.

Kinnaras	heavenly musicians with human faces and the body of birds.
Kirīṭamukuṭa	a crown with conical shape, occasionally ending in an ornamental top, carrying a central pointed knob.
Kirtimukha	an ornamental design with grotesque figures and foliage, carved generally on the crown.
Kukkuṭa	a cock.
Kulah	a conical cap.
Kumuda	red lotus.
Kūrmāsana	a sitting posture, in which legs are crossed so as to make the heels come under the gluteals.

L

Laḍḍu	a round ball of sweet, ambrosia.
Lakshaṇas	symbols, characteristics.
Lalitāsana	see *Ardha-paryaṅka.*
Lalāṭabimba	the uppermost centre of the image.
Lambodara	a large belly, designed for Gaṇeśa.

M

Mahākāla	the Great Time, designation of Śiva in one of his destructive aspects.
Makara	aquatic animal, crocodile.
Makara-Kuṇḍala	crocodile-shaped ear-ring, worn by Vishṇu.
Mekhalā	a rope like girdle.
Maṇḍala	circle, orb.
Mata	sect.
Mātṛikās	divine Mothers.
Maṇipātra	a pot containing gems.
Mātuluṅga	a kind of fruit.
Māyā	illusion, delusion, unreality.
Mīna	fish.
Mithuna	a couple of lovers.
Modaka-pātra	ambrosia pot.
Mudgar	a club shaped weapon.
Mṛiga	deer.

Mukuṭa	crown.
Mudrā	conventional hand-gestures, expressing feeling and thoughts.
Mūlakanda	turnip of dark foliage and root.
Muṇḍamālā	skull-garland, worn by Śiva and Devī when in their destructive aspects.
Mūsala	wooden pestle (cylindrical rod).
Mūshaka	rat, vehicle of Gaṇeśa.

N

Nāga	mythical snake divinities.
Nāgapāśa	a noose resembling a snake, or snake-noose.
Nāga-yajñopavīta	a holy-thread consisting of the snake.
Nāgī	a female *Nāga.*
Nakra-Kuṇḍala	an ear-ring resembling to a crocodile shape.
Nīlotpala	the blue lotus.
Nṛityamudrā	dancing posture.
Nūpura	anklet.

P

Padma	lotus.
Padma-pīṭha	lotus-seat.
Padma-purusha	the anthropomorphic representation of lotus, the emblem of Vishṇu.
Padmāsana	lotus-seat, sitting posture in which two legs are kept crossed so that the feet are brought to rest upon the thighs.
Pañcha-mukha liṅga	five-faced *liṅga* (phallus).
Pañcha liṅgas	five *liṅgas.*
Pañcharātra	a cult grown around Bhāgavatism.
Pañchavīras	five heroes referring to Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba.
Panchendra	five Indraś or five-faced Indra.
Pāñchāgni tapan	bearing the heat of burning fire on five sideways, a part of austerities practised by Durgā for obtaining Śiva as her consort.
Paraśu	battle-axe.

Pāśa	noose of ropes.
Patāka-hasta	streamer pose, the extended hand stretched out away from the shoulder.
Patra-kuṇḍala	ear-rings, comprising of leaves.
Prabhāvalī or Prabhāmaṇḍala	a halo of light, an aureole.
Prakṛiti	in the *Sāṁkhya* doctrine, nature as distinct from spirit (*Purusha*), source of the material world.
Pralaya	world dissolution.
Pratimā	image, picture, figure.
Pṛithvī	the earth as substance and as personified goddess.
Pustaka	book.
Purusha	Supreme Soul, the spiritual principle as distinct from *Prakṛiti* (nature), the material substratum of creation.

R

Ratna-kuṇḍala	ear-ring of gems.
Ṛishi	the ancient seers.
Rudrākshamālā	a rosary of *rudrāksha* beads.

S

Śaiva	sect pertaining to Śiva, worshipper of Śiva.
Śākta	sect pertaining to Devī, devotees of Devī.
Śakti	designation of Devī as the female energy in supreme principle form, powers pear.
Śālagrāma	an aniconic representation of Vishṇu in the form of small round stone.
Samabhaṅga	to stand straight without any bend in the body.
Samudra-manthana	the churning of the Milk-ocean by *Devatās* and *Asuras* when they used the mountain *Mandara* as the churning stick and the serpent Vasuki as rope in order to get *amṛita*.
Śaṁkha	conch-shell, one of the emblems of Vishṇu.
Saṅdarśana mudrā	see *Chinmudrā*.
Santāna-mañjarī	a kind of flower.
Sapta	seven.

Saptika	a weapon similar, to a sword.
Sarpa-hāra	a neck-ornament, consisting of snakes.
Sarpa-kuṇḍala	an ear-ring like coils of snakes, or the serpent itself coiled like an ear-ring.
Sarpa-yajñopavīta	snake worn as the sacred-thread by Śiva or Gaṇeśa.
Śārdūla	mythical animal, resembling a lion.
Sārī	lower garment of a female.
Śāstra	treatise, scripture.
Sthānaka	to stand, standing posture.
Sāttavata	a tribe to which Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa belongs.
Śesha-paryaṅka	Vishṇu lying on the serpent Śesha.
Setu	bridge (implied for the holy Ṛameshvaram bridge).
Siṁha	lion.
Siṁhakarṇa	see *Kaṭaka hasta.*
Siṁha-vāhinī	seated on a lion, designed for Durgā.
Śirīsha-kuṇḍala	an ear-ring of *Śirisha* flowers.
Śrīvatsa	an auspicious mark on the chest of Vishṇu.
Śruka or *Śruva*	a sacrificial spoon.
Sūchī pose	hand-pose with extended index, pointing downward.
Śūla	a trident.
Sūrpakarṇa	broad ears like a *sūrpa*, implied to Gaṇeśa.
Sūtra	verses of scripture.

T

Tāñḍava	dance of Śiva of a forceful and violent nature, the dance of destruction and creation.
Tandula	rice.
Taṅka	small chisel like weapon.
Tapas	penances, austerities.
Tarjanī-hasta	hand-pose with extended index pointing upward, implying admonition or threat.

Tribhaṅga	a standing pose in which the body has three side way bends, the first from feet to hip, the second from hip to shoulder, the third from shoulder to crown.
Triśūla	trident.

U

Udara-bandha	belt at abdomen.
Upavīta	holy-thread.
Ūrdhva-retas	ithyphallus, a designation for Śiva.
Ushṇīśa	a hair-knot bound at the top with a protuberance.
Utkuṭikāsana	a sitting posture in which the person sits with his heels kept close to the bottom and with the back slightly curved.

V

Vāhana	vehicle or mount of deities.
Vaishṇava	sect relating to Vishṇu, devotees of Vishṇu.
Vaijayantīmālā	a garland of *Vaijayantī* flowers worn by Vishṇu, a necklace with a group of five gems.
Vairāgya	renunciation.
Vajra	thunderbolt, two similar limbs, each having three claws and both its parts are connected together by the handle in the middle.
Vakratuṇḍa	broken tusk, a designation of Gaṇeśa.
Valaya	ornament.
Vanamālā	garland of wood-flowers of variegated colours, worn by Vishṇu.
Varadamudrā	hand-gesture bestowing boons, the right arm is lowered and the open-palm is turned downward towards the observer signifying giving boons.
Vighna	obstacle, obstacle-creator Gaṇeśa.
Vidyādhara	name of inferior deities floating between earth and heaven.
Vīṇā	a musical instrument.

Vināyakapati	Lord of Vināyakas, the Gaṇeśa.
Virāsana	a sitting posture in which the left foot rests upon the right thigh and the left thigh on right foot.
Virāṭa-rūpa	the form of god Vishṇu showing the totality of created beings.
Vismaya hasta	gesture expressing wonder.
Vyāghramukha	an ornamental design on the image consisting of mythical lion-face.

Y

Yajña	sacrifice offered to the gods.
Yajñopavīta	sacred-thread.
Yaksha	a kind of nature deities, attendants of Kubera.
Yāviyāṅga	see *Avyaṅga.*
Yoga	practices to obtain one-pointed concentration of mind and spiritual union with the Supreme.
Yogin	ascetics practising *yoga.*
Yogamudrā	meditational posture, the palm of the right hand is placed in that of the left hand and both together are laid on the crossed-legs of the seated image.
Yoga-nidrā	the sleep of contemplation especially applied to the sleep of Vishṇu between one world creation and the next.
Yuga	an age of the world. There are four *yugas, Satya* or *Kṛita yuga, Tretā yuga, Dvāpara yuga* and the *Kali yuga,* declining in period from the first to the last.

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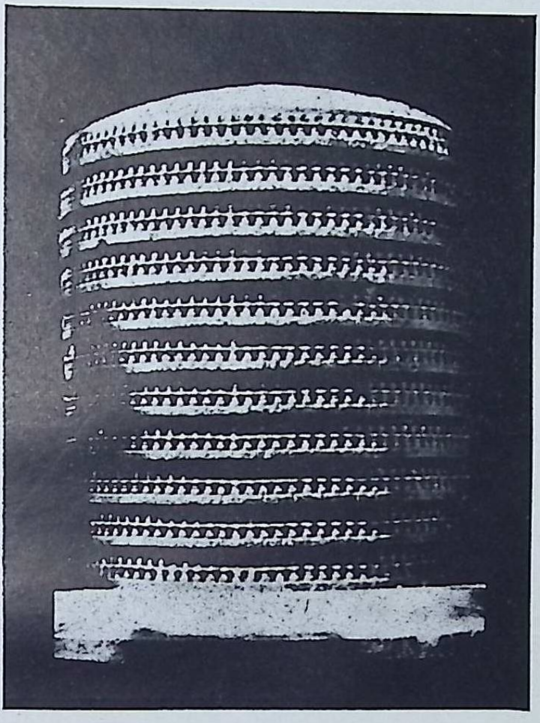

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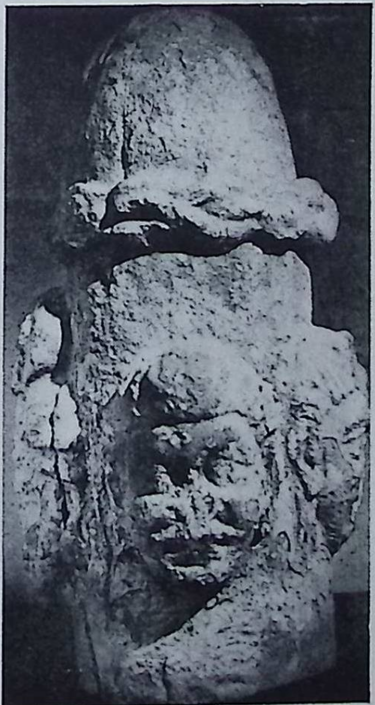

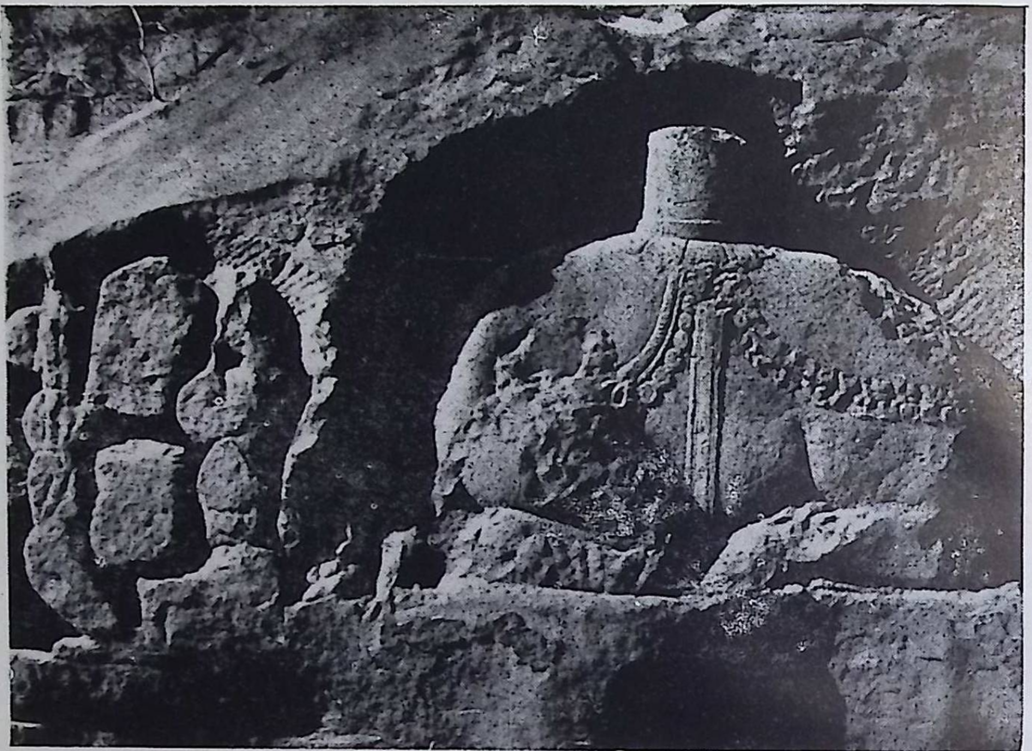

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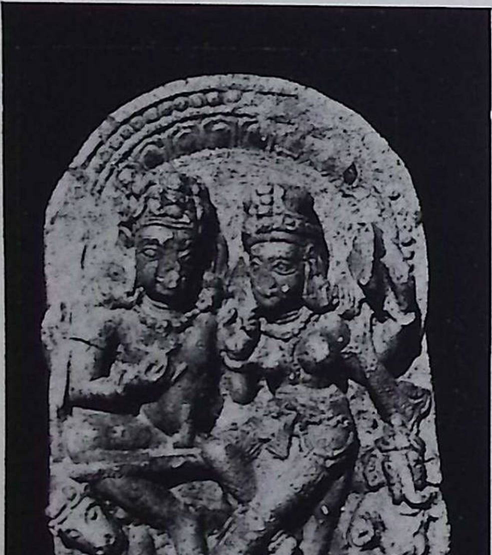

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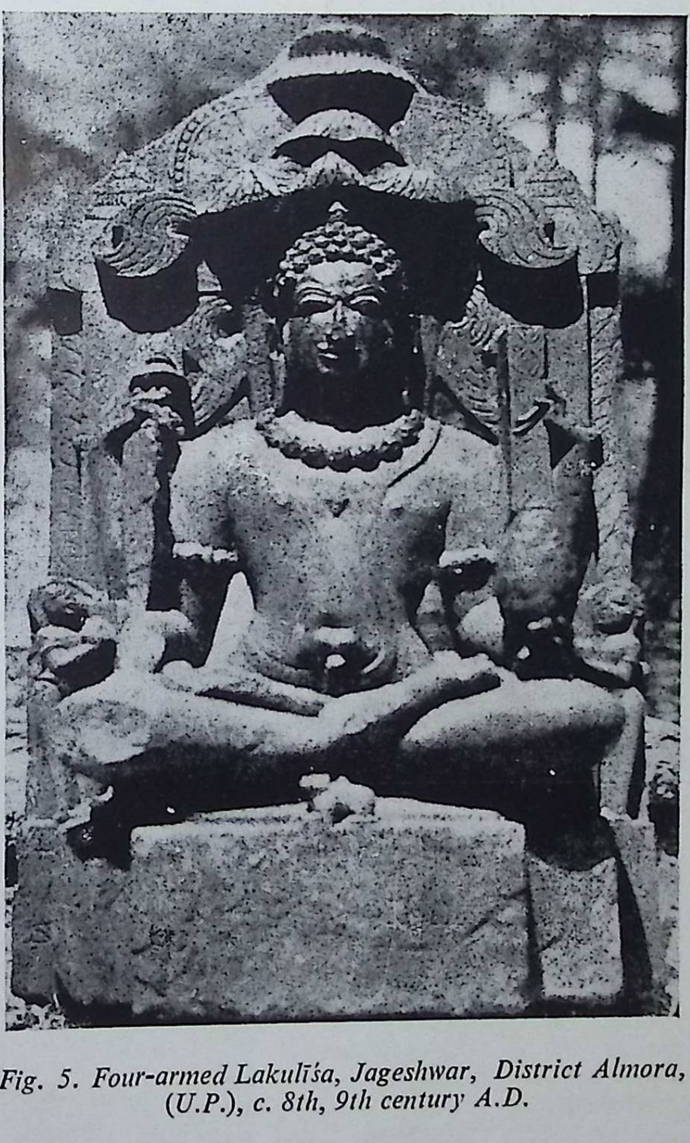

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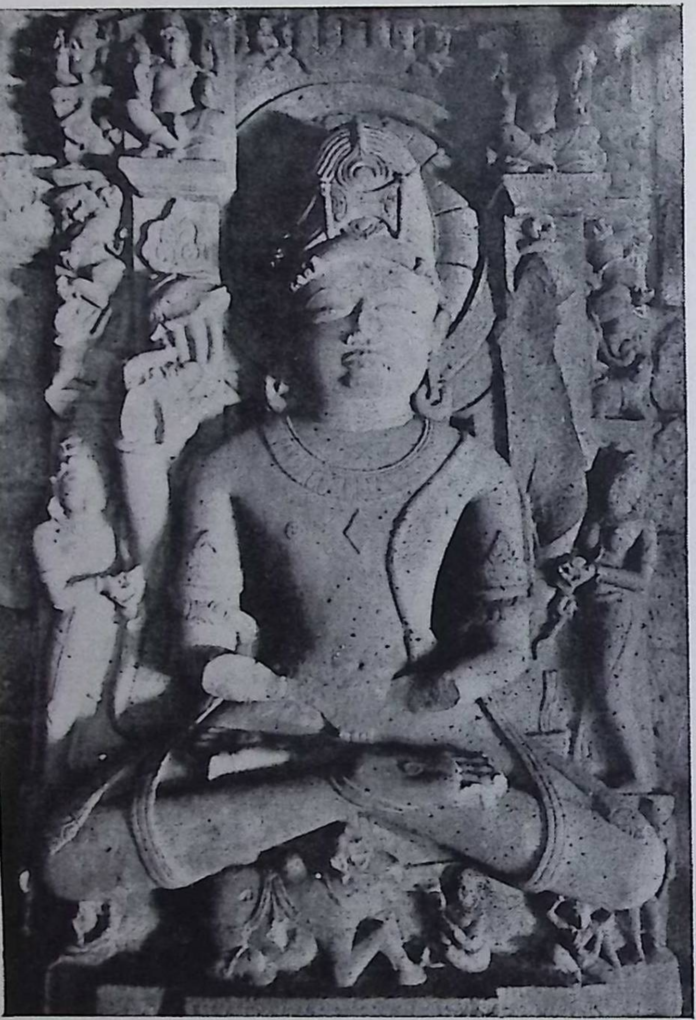

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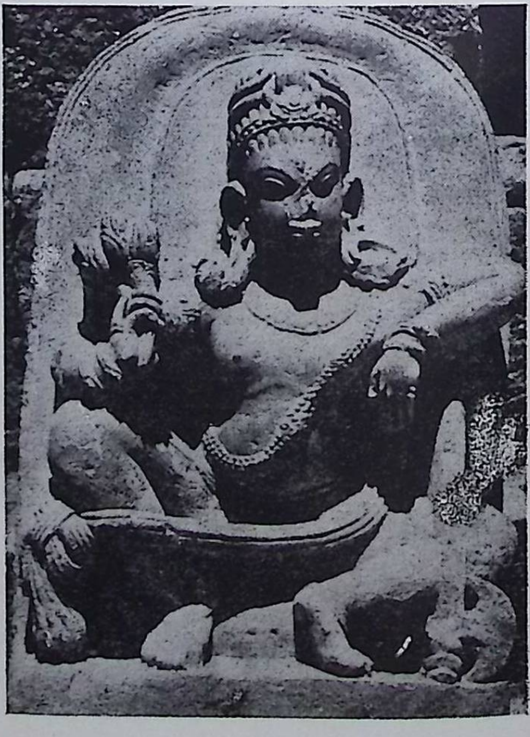

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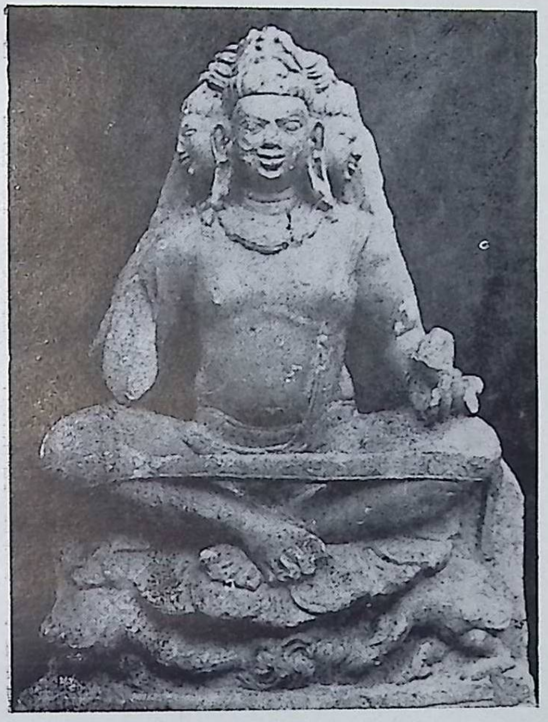

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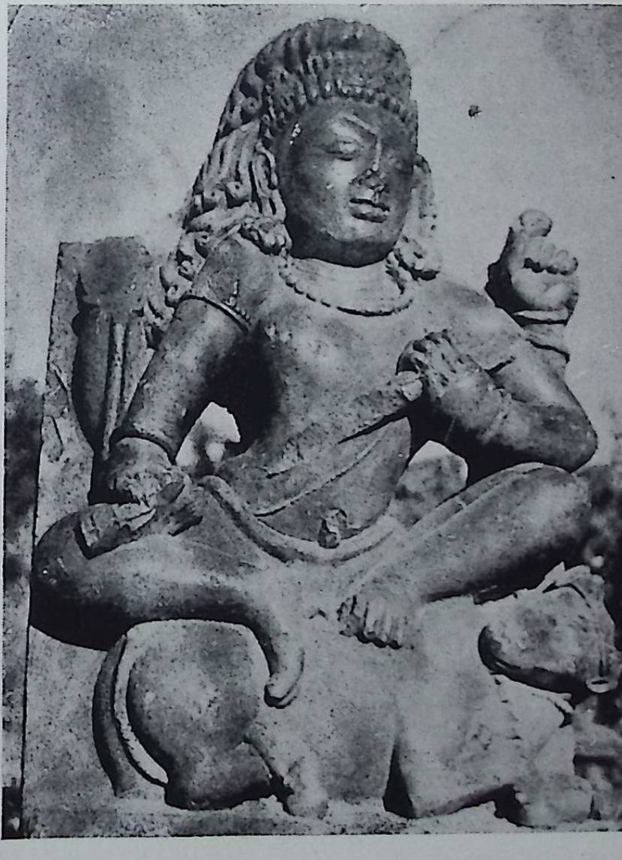

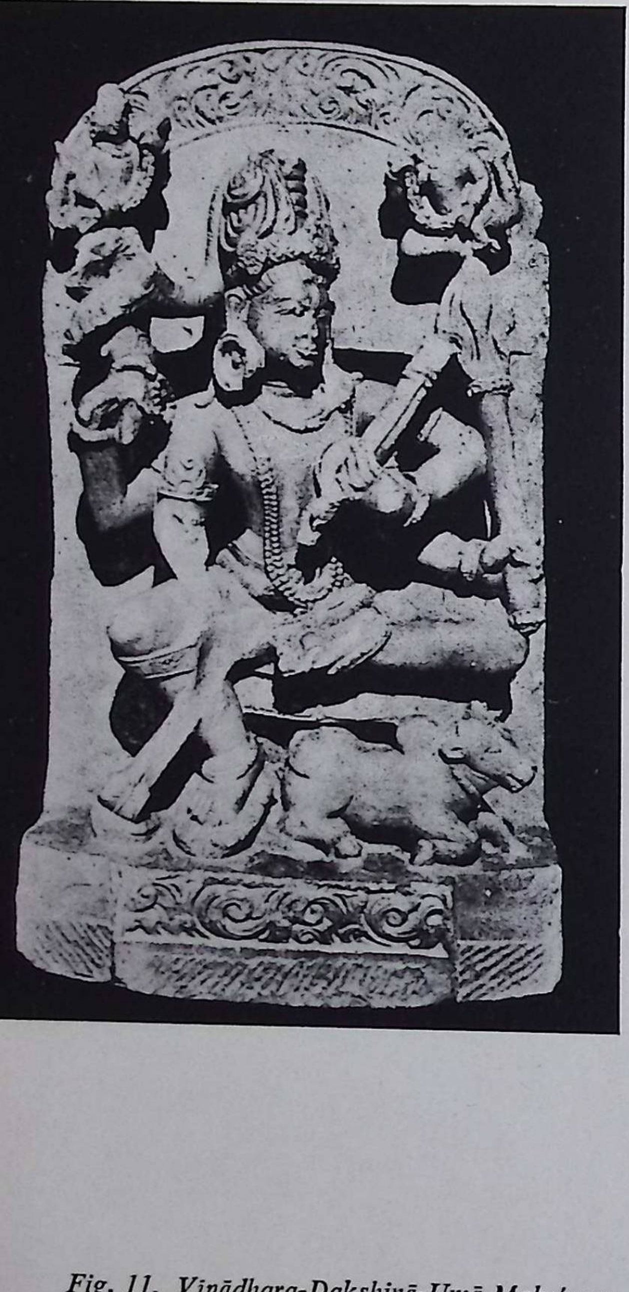

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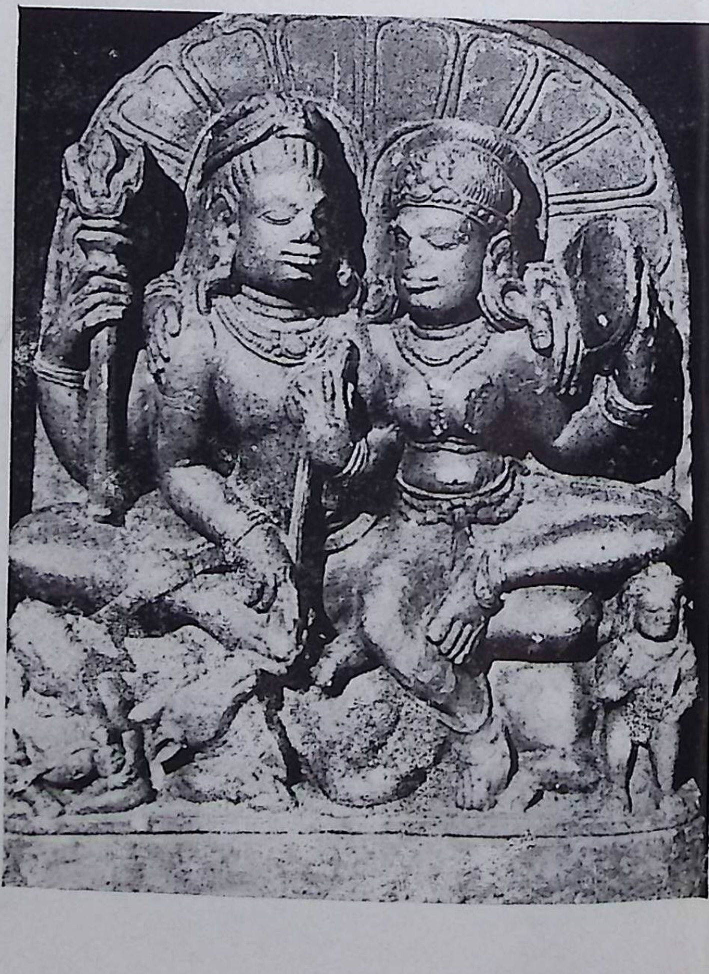

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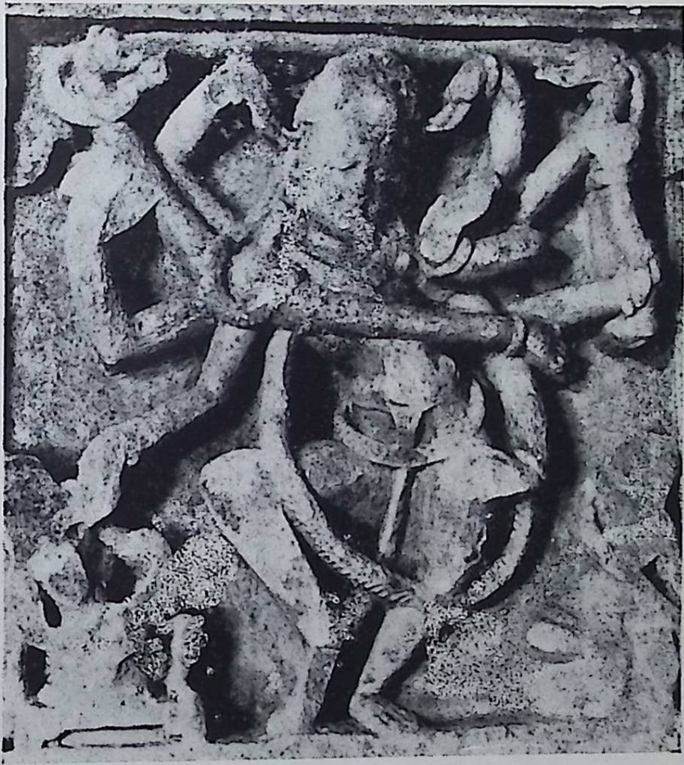


Fig. 12. Ten-armed Naṭarāja, Lakhamandal, District Dehra Dun, (U.P.), c. 7th, 8th century A.D.

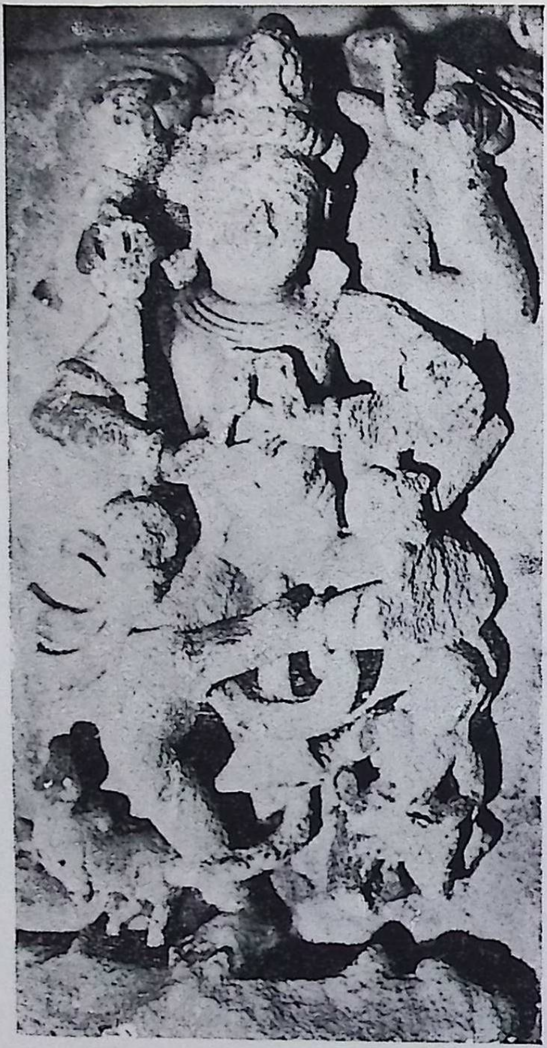
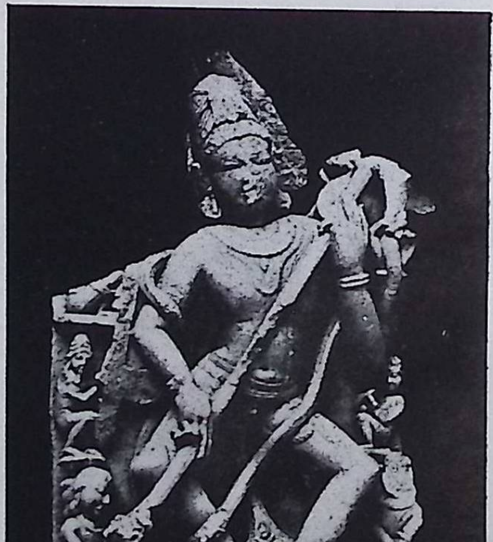


Fig. 13. Six-armed Naṭarāja, Champawat, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

Fig. 14. Six-armed Naṭarāja, Rikhian, District Banda, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.



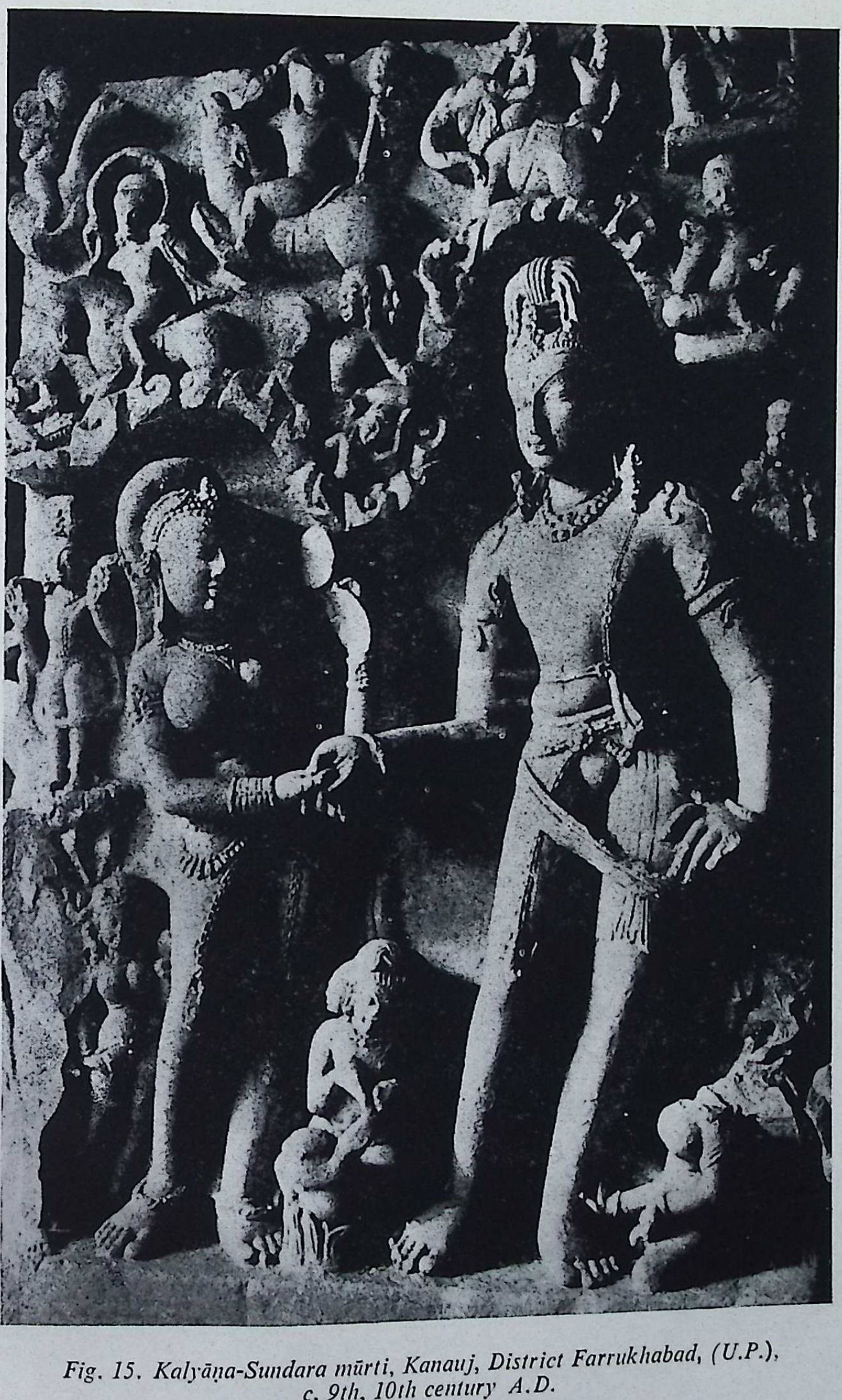


Fig. 15. Kalyāṇa-Sundara mūrti, Kanauj, District Farrukhabad, (U.P.), c. 9th, 10th century A.D.

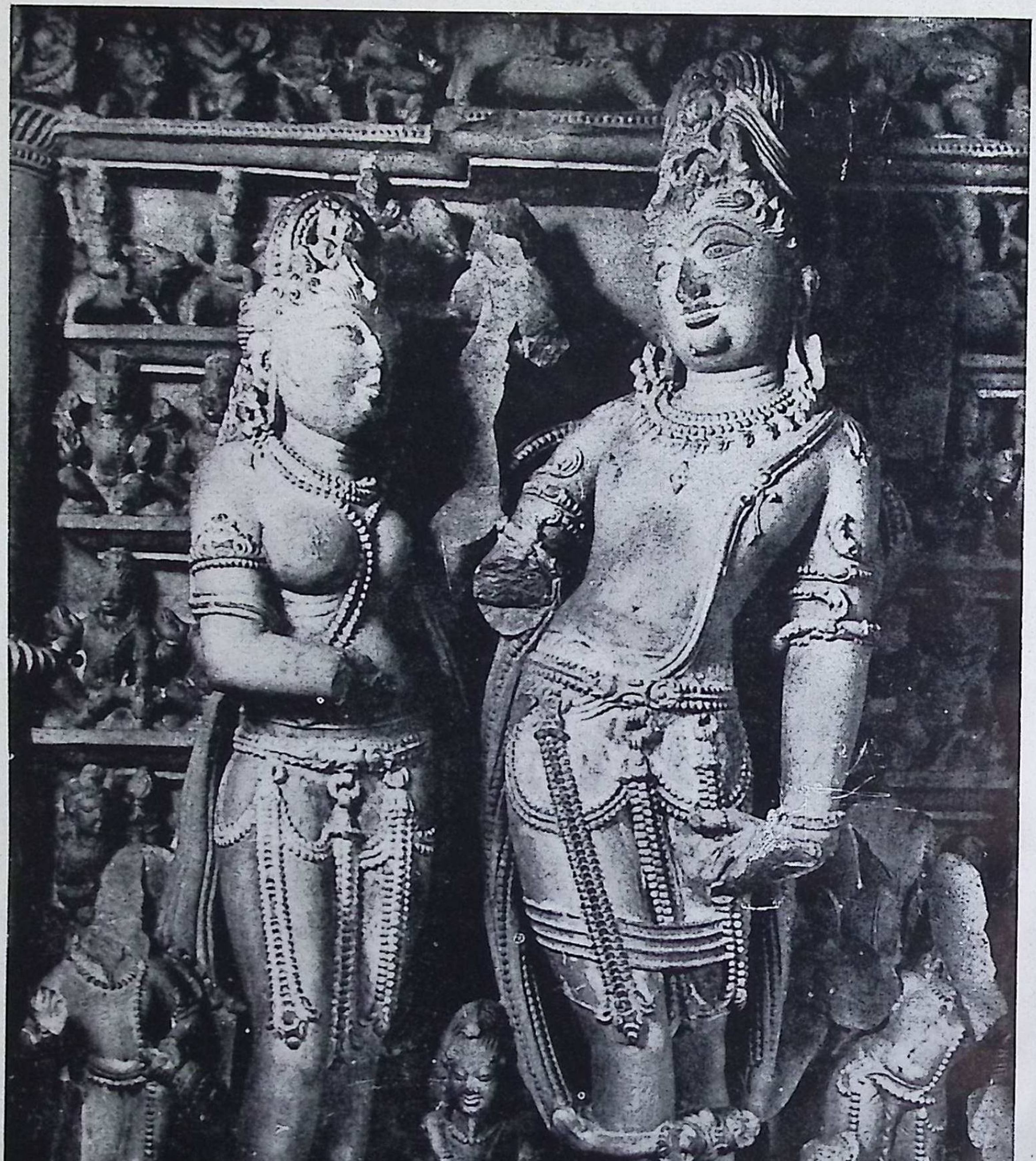


Fig. 16. Kalyāṇa-Sundara mūrti, Etah, (U.P.), now in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, c. 10th century A.D.

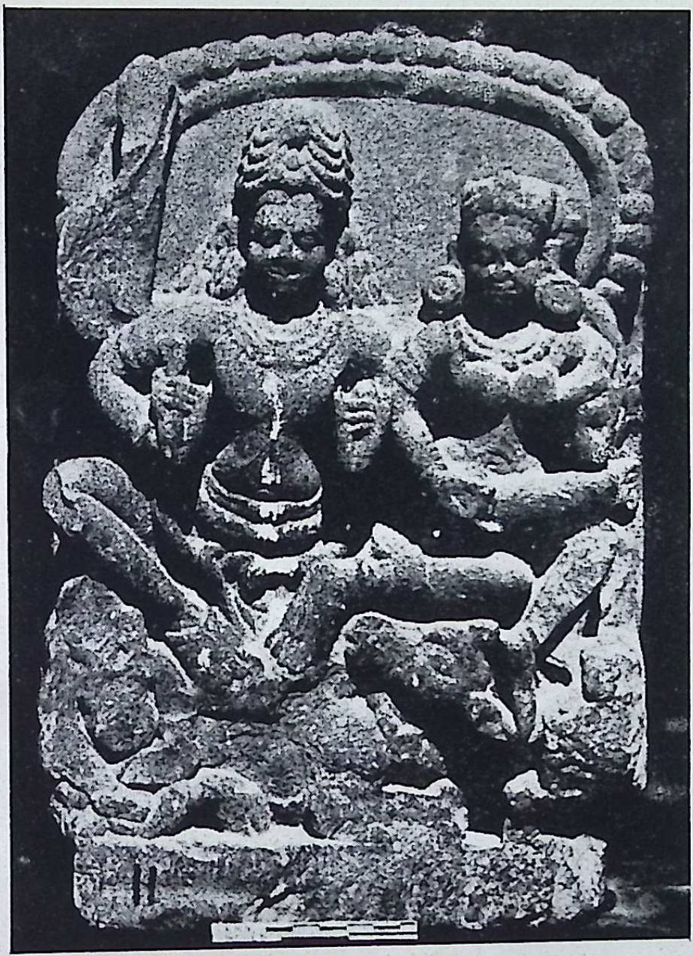
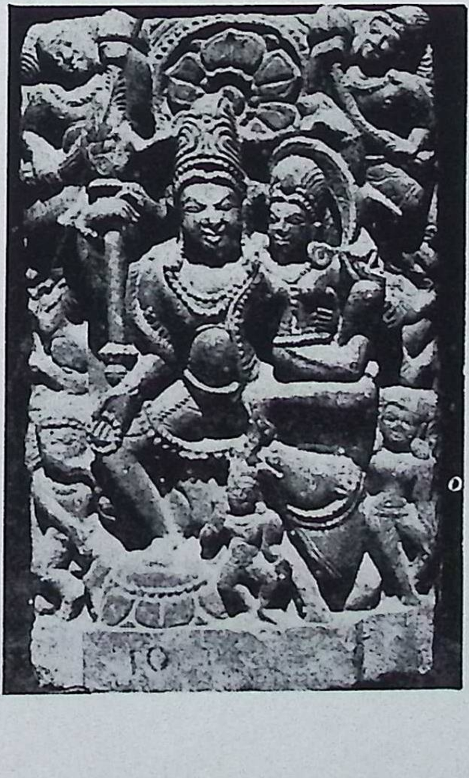


Fig. 17. Umā-Maheśvara, Lakhamandal, District Dehra Dun, (U.P.), c. 6th century A.D.

Fig. 18. Umā-Maheśvara, Lakhamandal, District Dehra Dun, (U.P.), c. 7th, 8th century A.D.



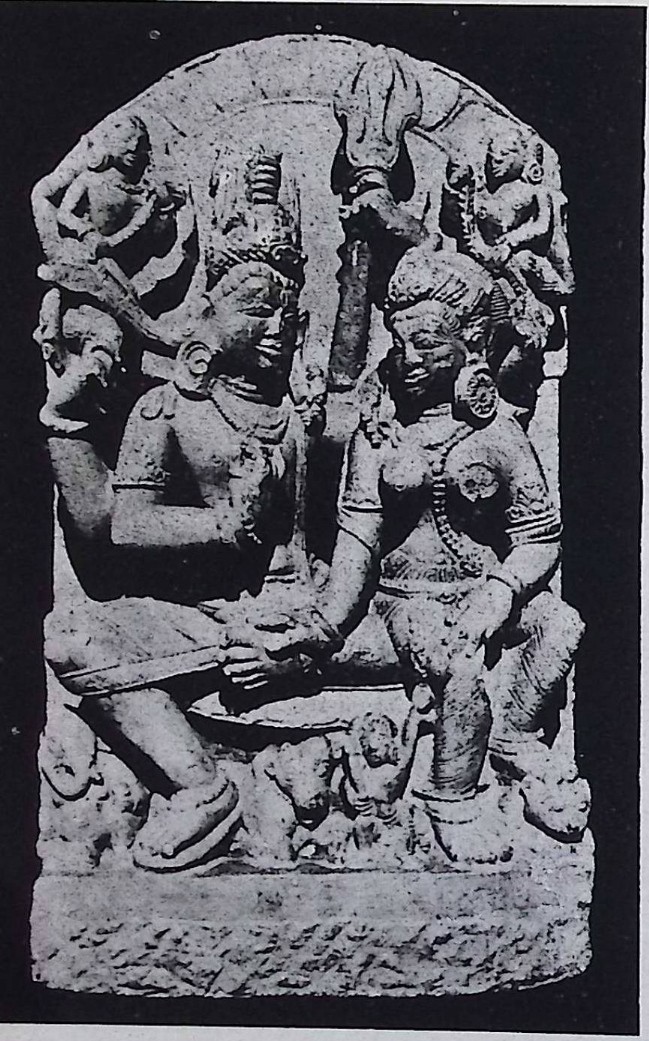
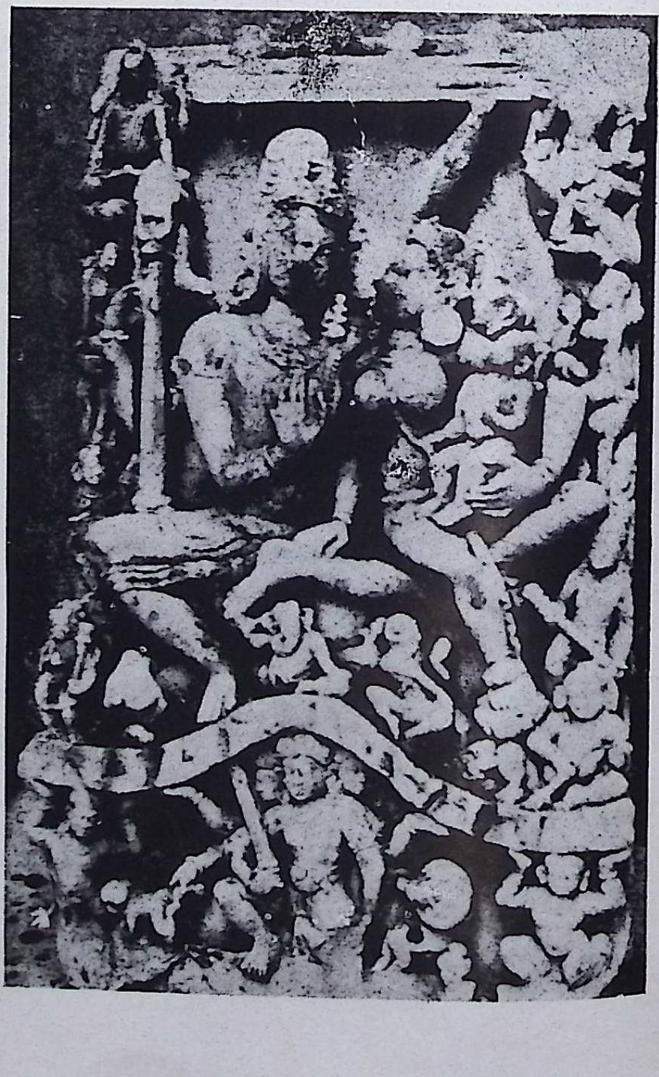


Fig. 19, Umā-Maheśvara, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

Fig. 20. Rāvaṇānugraha mūrti, Hardoi proper, (U.P), c. 10th century A.D.



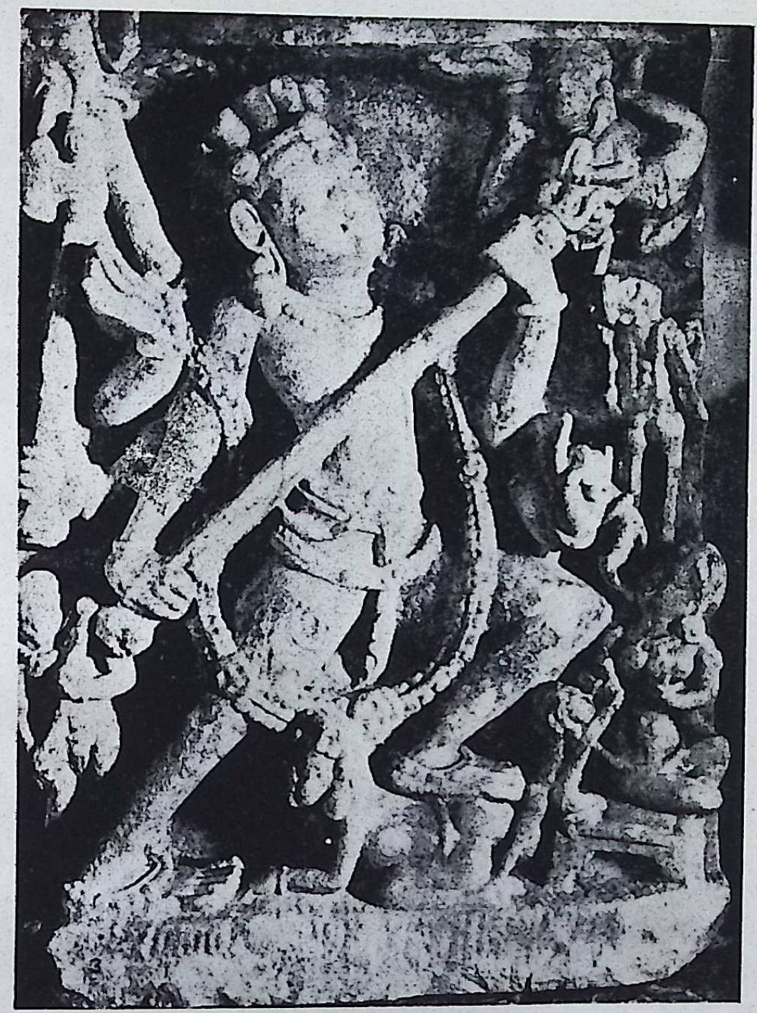


Fig. 21. Andhakāsuravadha mūrti, Lakhamandal, District Dehra Dun, (U.P.), c. 7th, 8th century A.D.

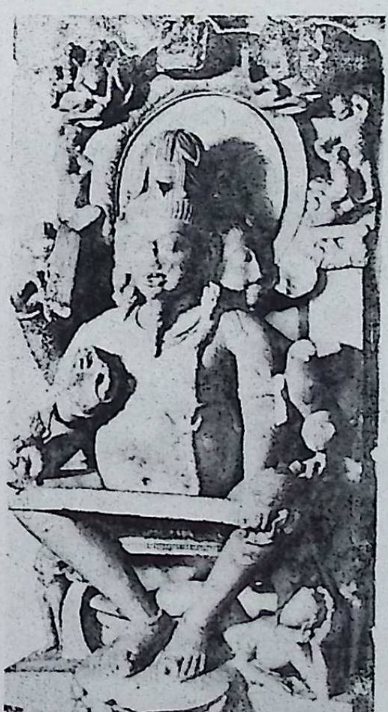


Fig. 22. Baṭuka-Bhairava, State Museum, Lucknow, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

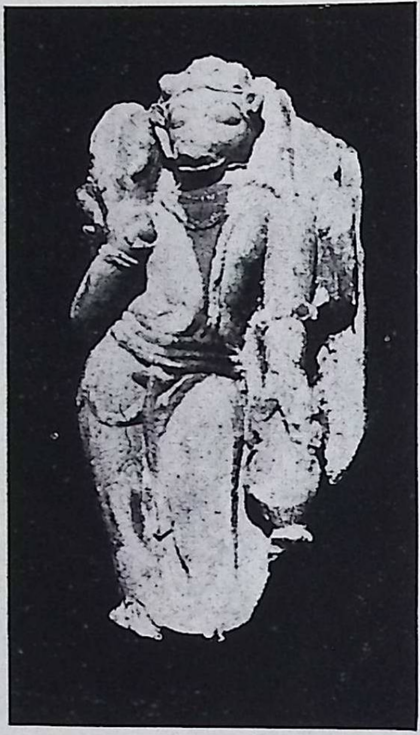
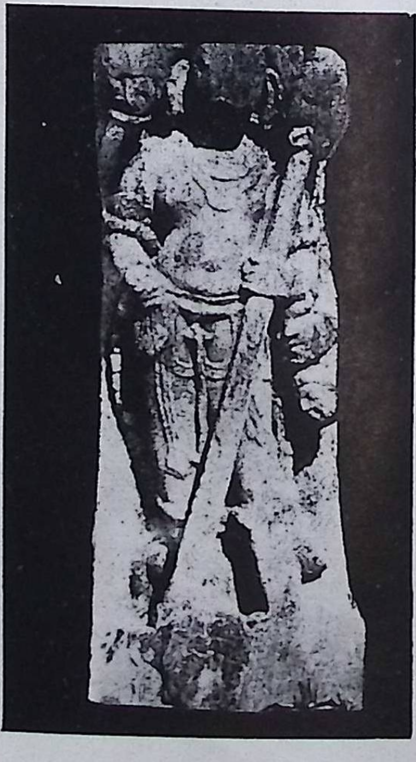


Fig. 23. Nandikeśvara (ox-faced), Dudhai, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

Fig. 24. Nandikeśvara (goat-faced), Dudhai, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.



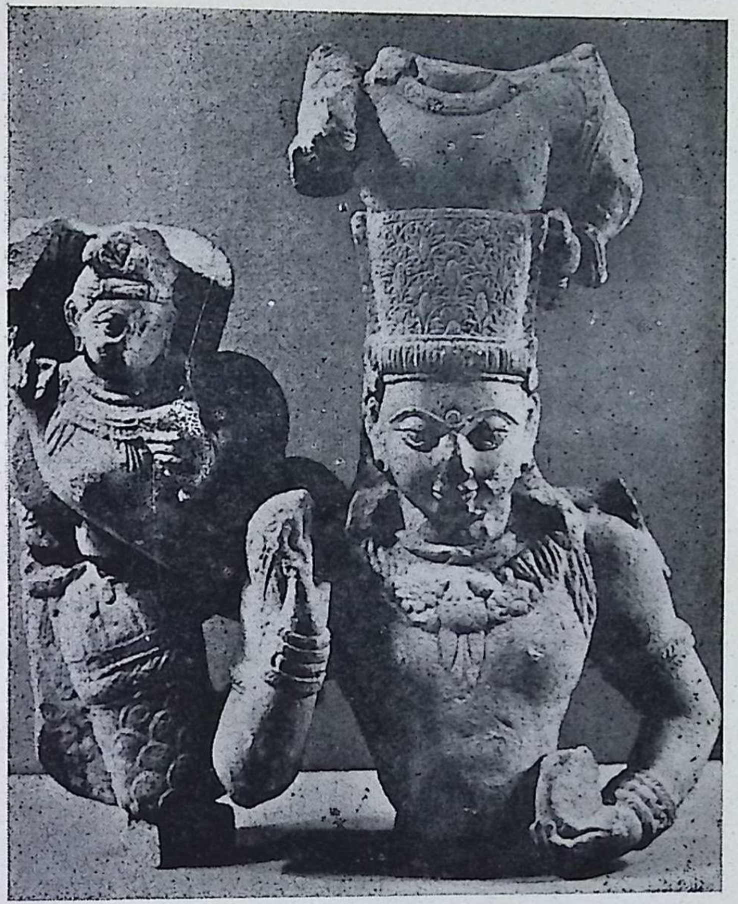


Fig. 25. Vyūha-mūrti of Vishṇu, Mathura Museum, Mathura, (U.P.), c. 2nd, 3rd century A.D.

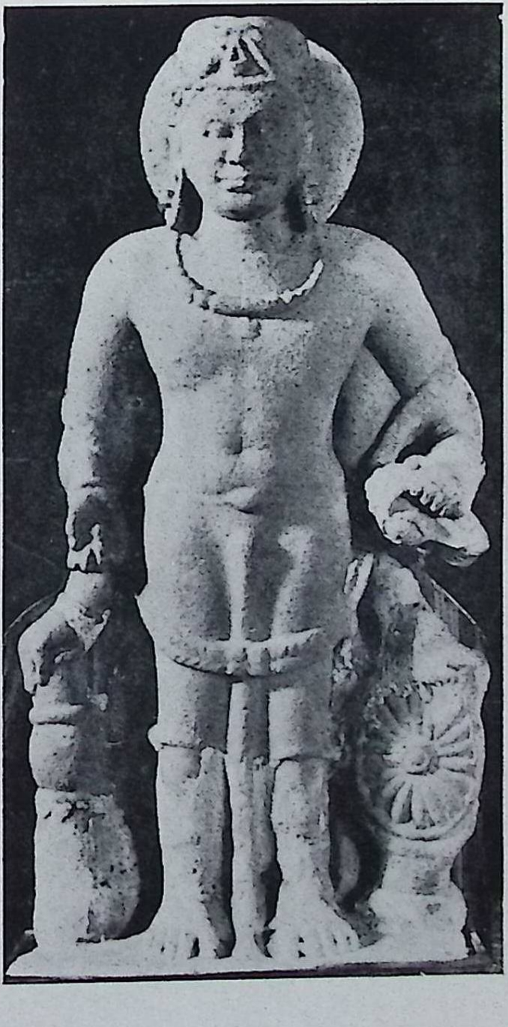


Fig. 26. Vishṇu, Jhusi, District Allahabad, now in the municipal museum, Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 5th century A.D.

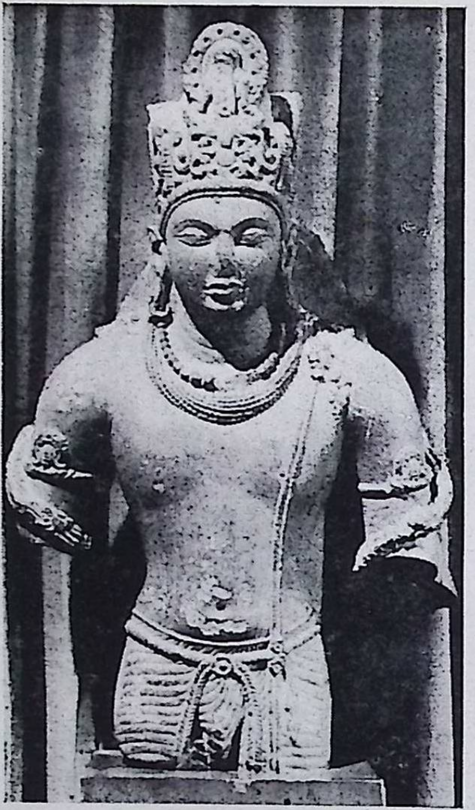


Fig. 27. Vishṇu, Mathura, now in the National Museum, Delhi, c. 6th century A.D.

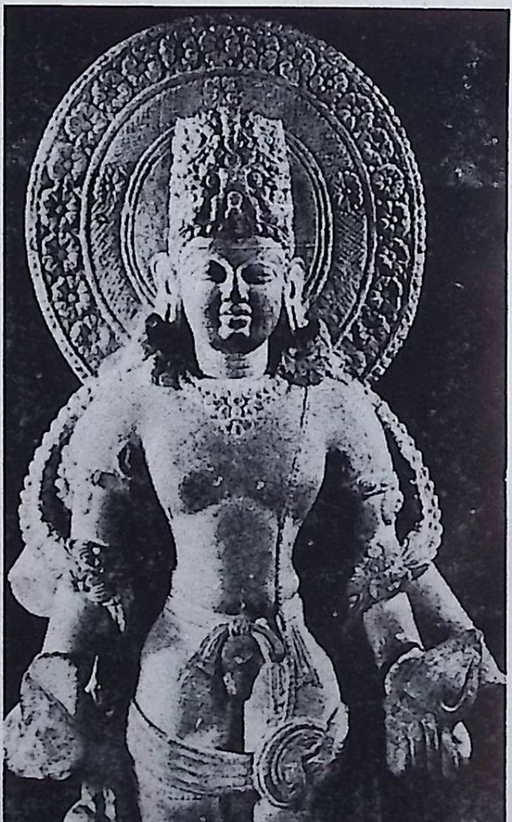


Fig. 28. Vishṇu, Kankali tila, Mathura, now in the State museum, Lucknow, (U.P.), c. 5th, 6th century A.D.

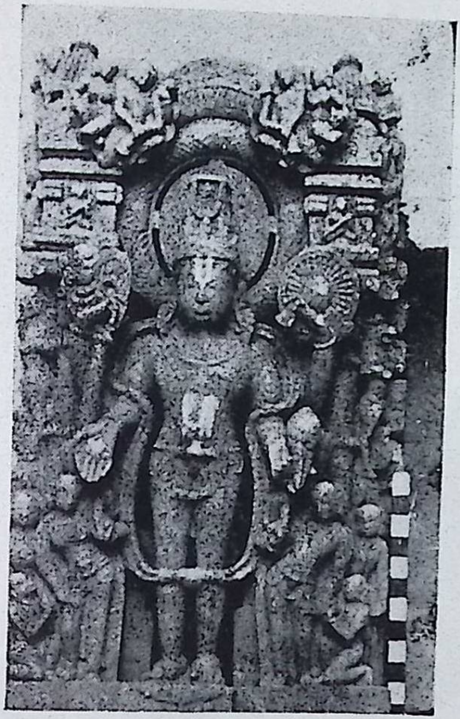
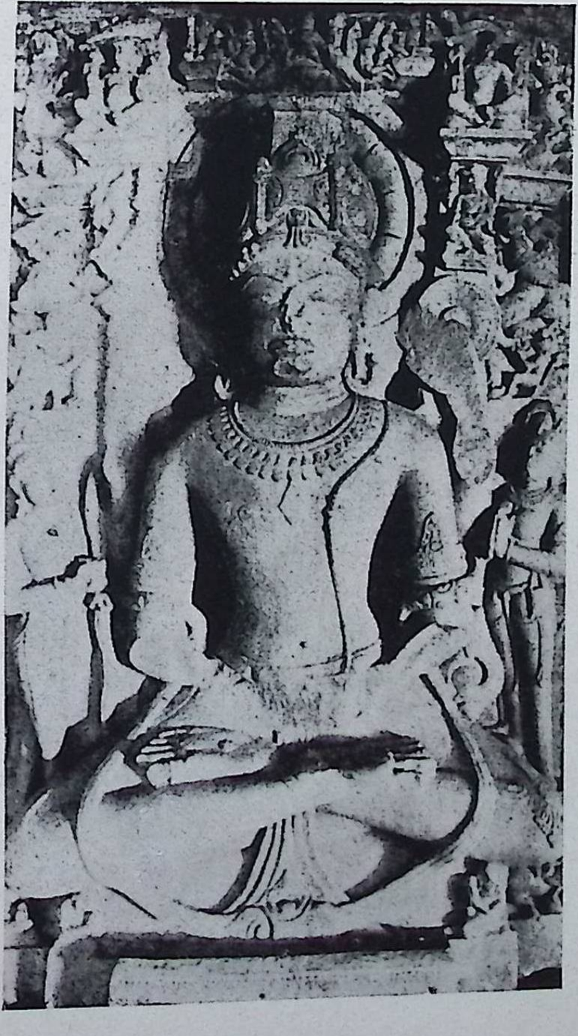


Fig. 29. Bhogasthānaka Vishṇu, Burhagaon, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

Fig. 30. Yogāsana Vishṇu, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.



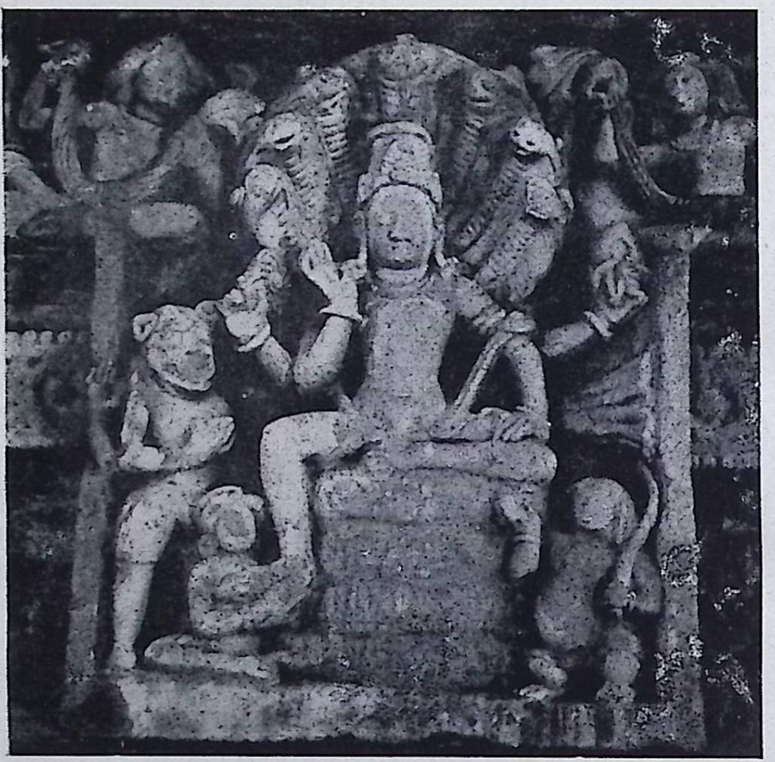


Fig. 31. *Śeshāsana Vishṇu, Deogarh, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 6th century A.D.*

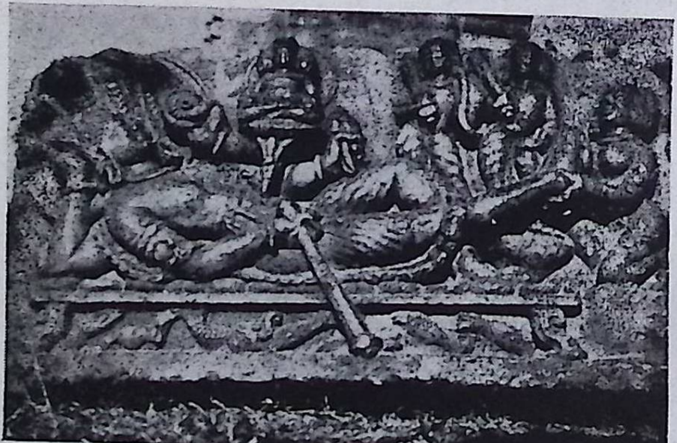


Fig. 32. *Anantaśayin Vishṇu, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 11th, 12th century A.D.*

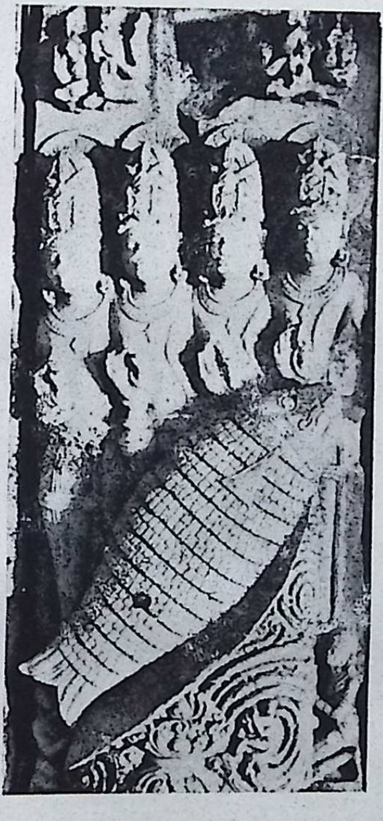


Fig. 33. Matsyāvatāra, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.

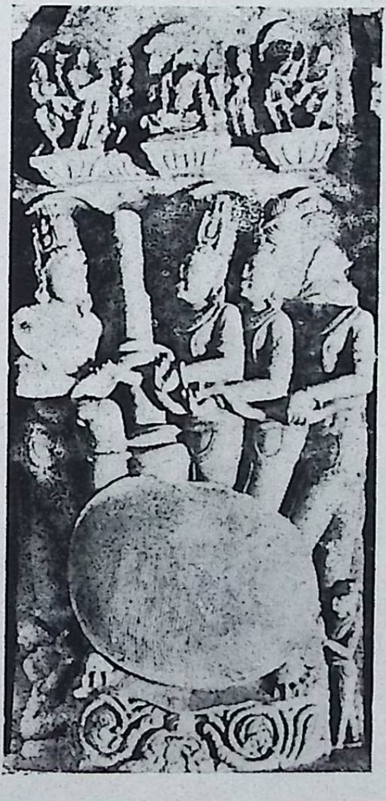


Fig. 34. Kūrmāvatāra, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

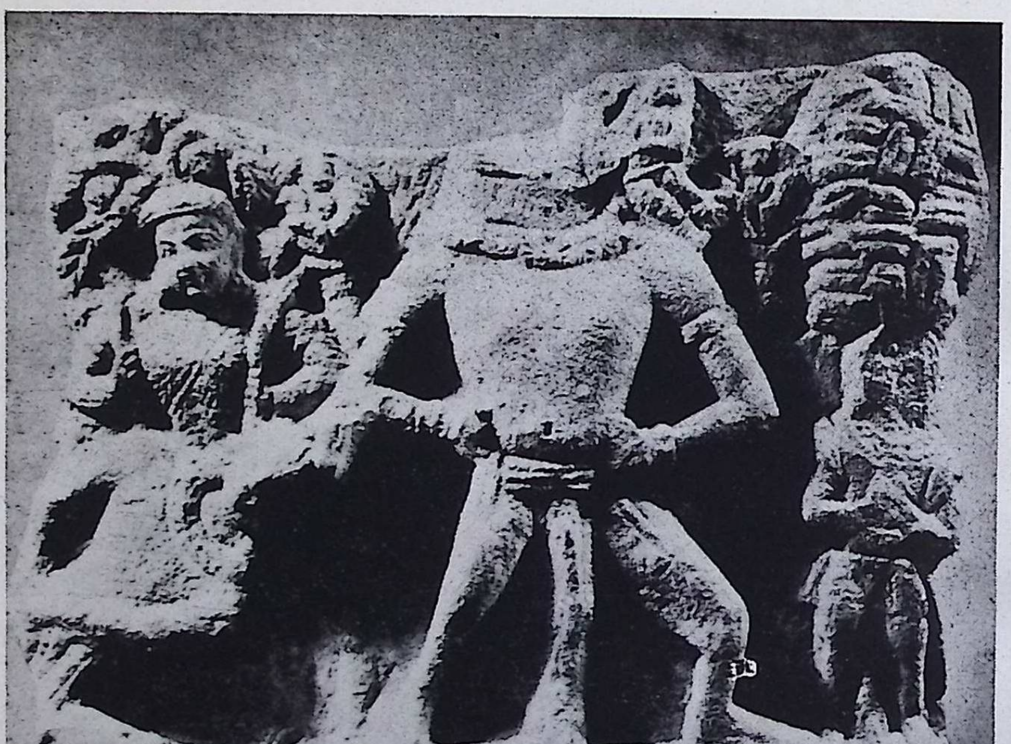


Fig. 35. Varāha, Mathura Museum, (U.P.), c. 1st, 2nd century A.D.

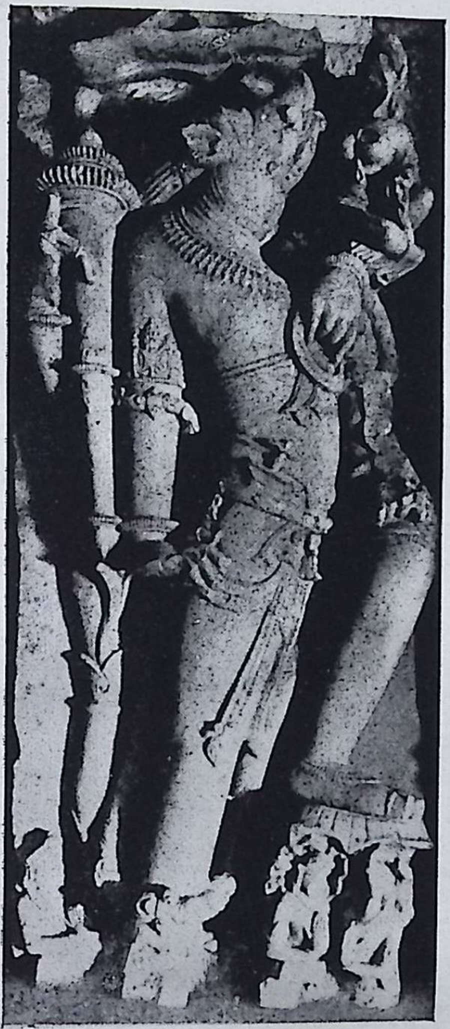
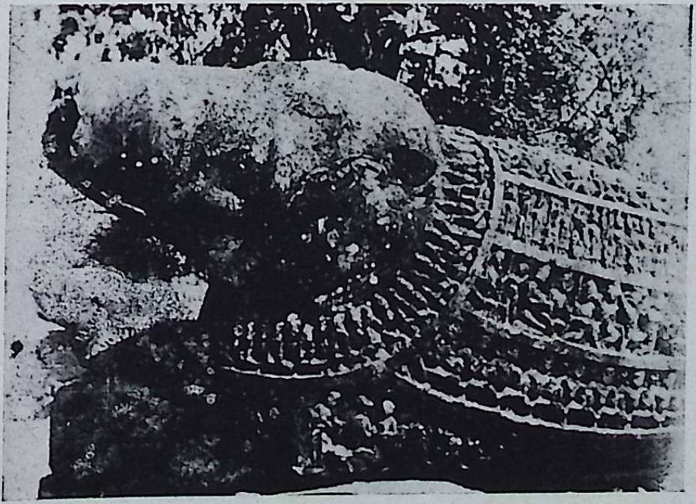


Fig. 36. Varāha, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

Fig. 37. Varāha (theriomorphic form), Dudhai, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.



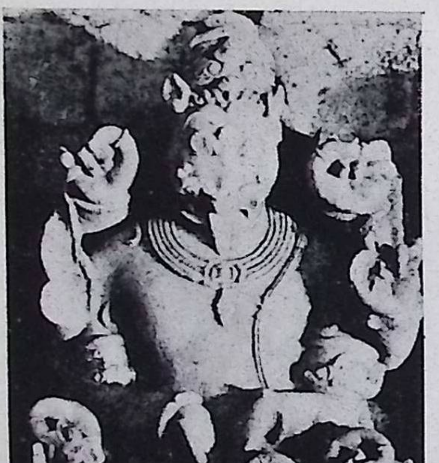


Fig. 38. Eight-armed Nṛisiṁha, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

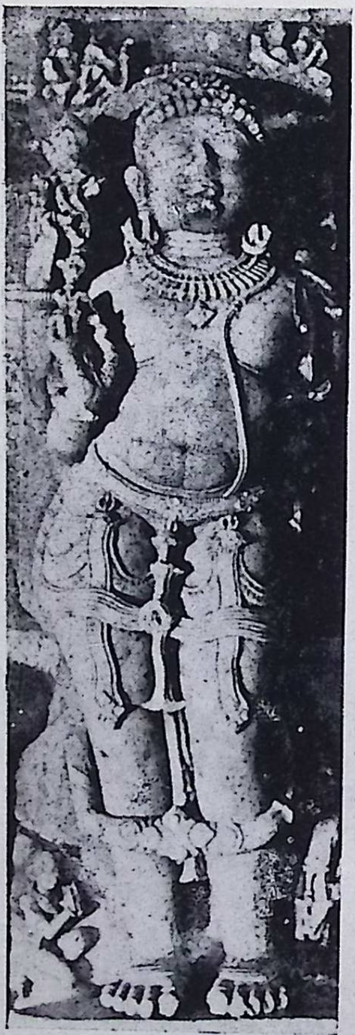


Fig. 39. Vāmana, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

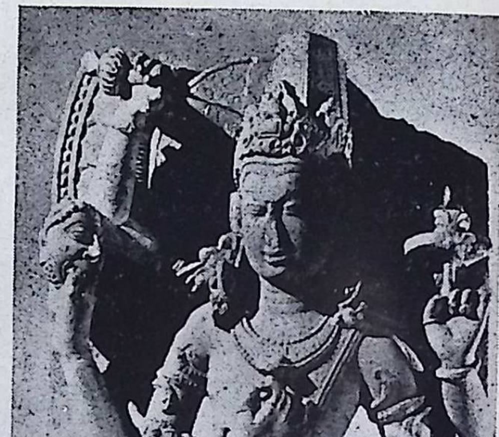


Fig. 40. Trivikrama, Kashipur, District Nainital, (U.P.), now in the National Museum, Delhi, c. 9th, 10th century A.D.

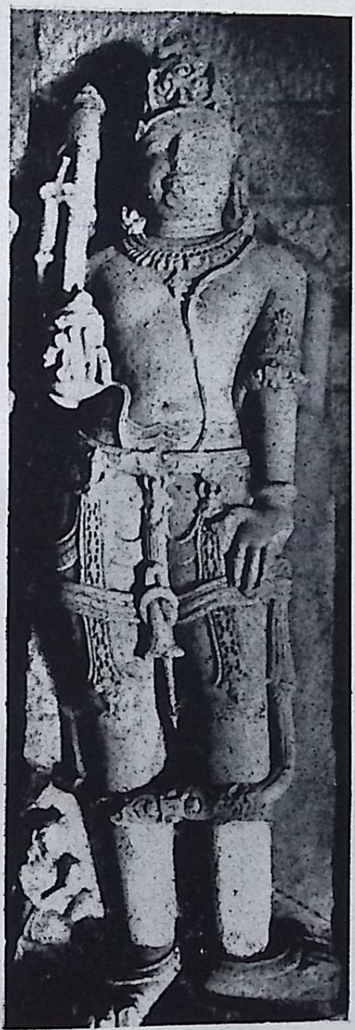


Fig. 41. Paraśurāma, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 12th century, A.D.

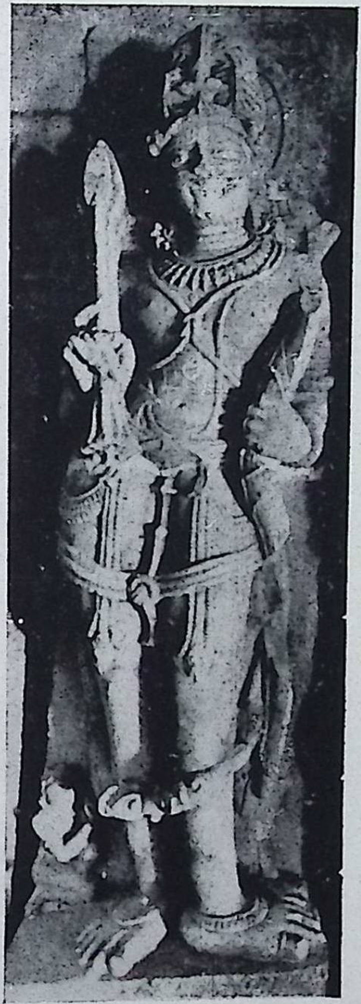


Fig. 42. Rāma, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

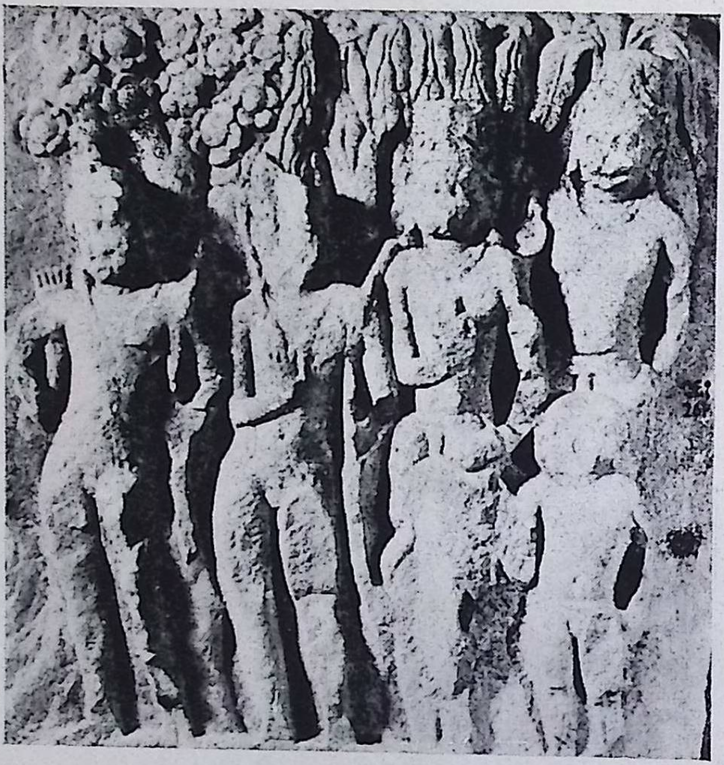
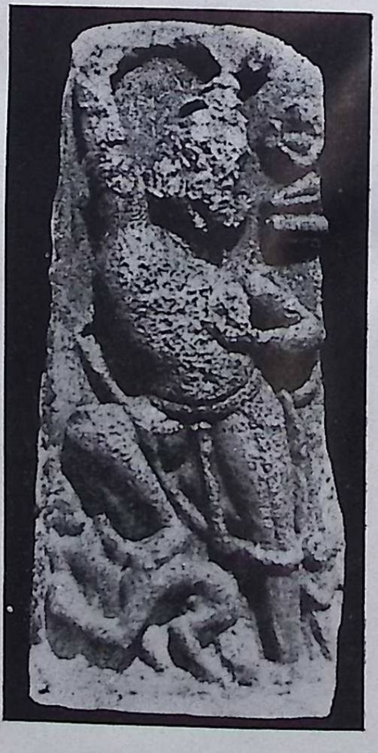


Fig. 43. Rāmāyaṇa scene, Sringverapur, District Allahabad, (U.P.), now in the Allahabad Museum, c. 5th, 6th century A.D.

Fig. 44. Hanumān, Nokhera, District Etah, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.



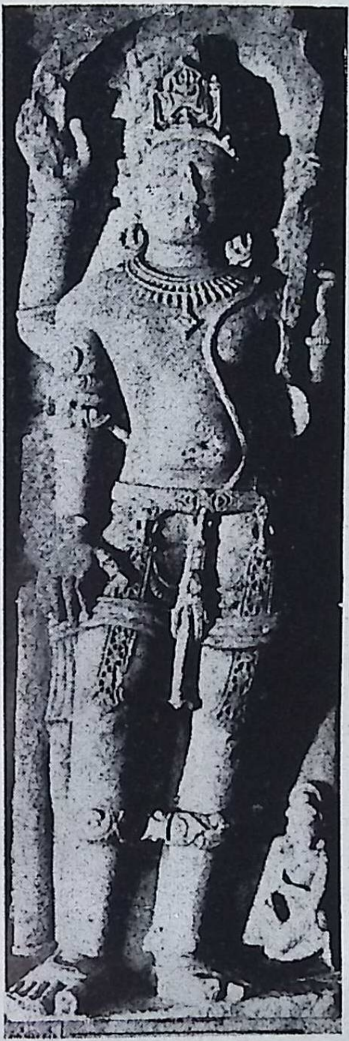
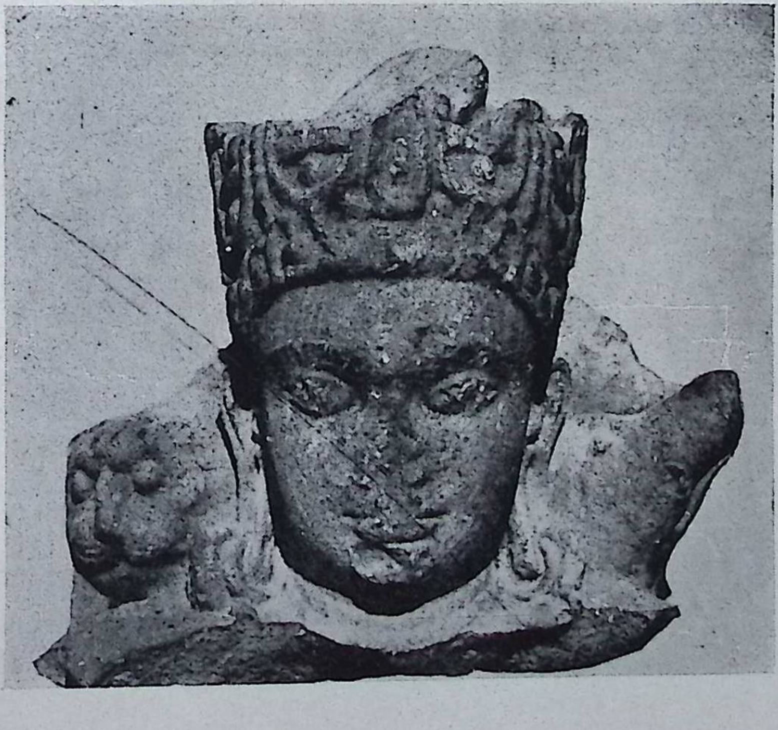


Fig. 45. Balarāma, Garhwa, District Allahabad, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

Fig. 46. Vaikuṇṭha-Vishṇu, National Museum, Delhi, c. 5th, 6th century A.D.



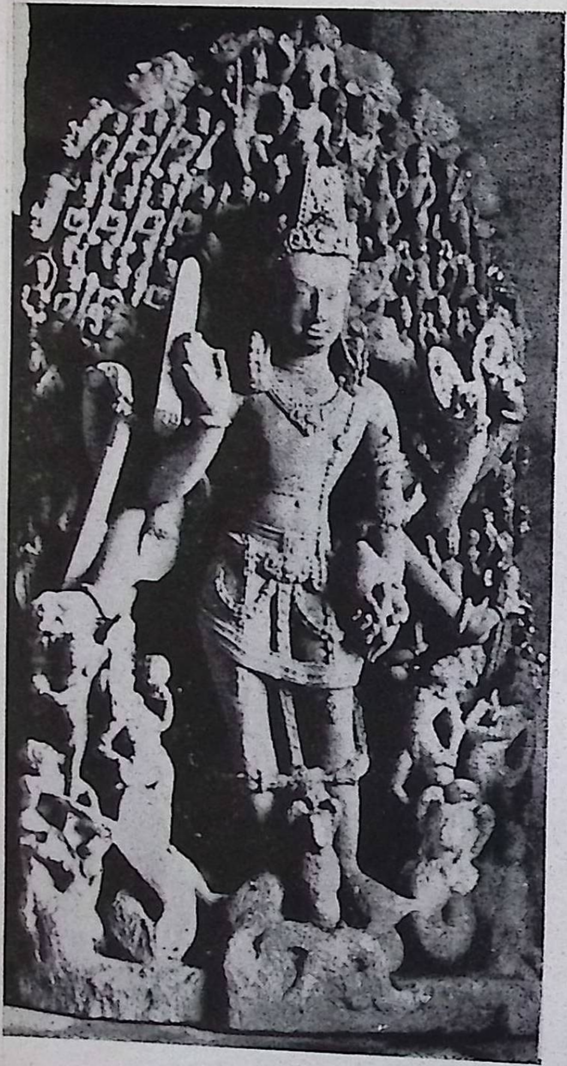
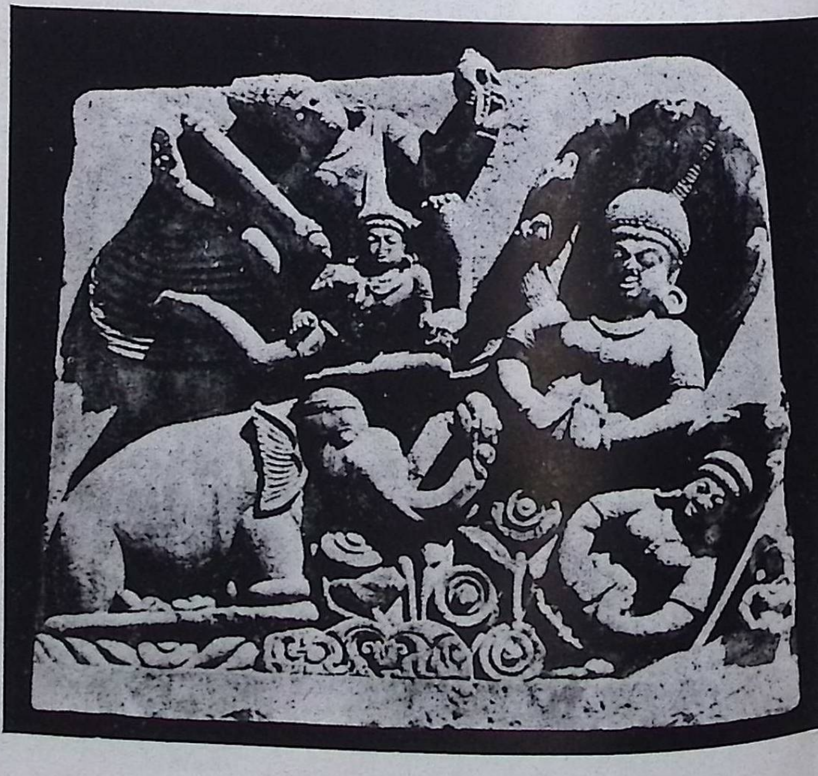


Fig. 47. *Viśvarūpa, Kanauj, District Farrukhabad, (U.P.), c. 9th, 10th century A.D.*

Fig. 48. *Karivarada, Deogarh, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 7th, 8th century A.D.*



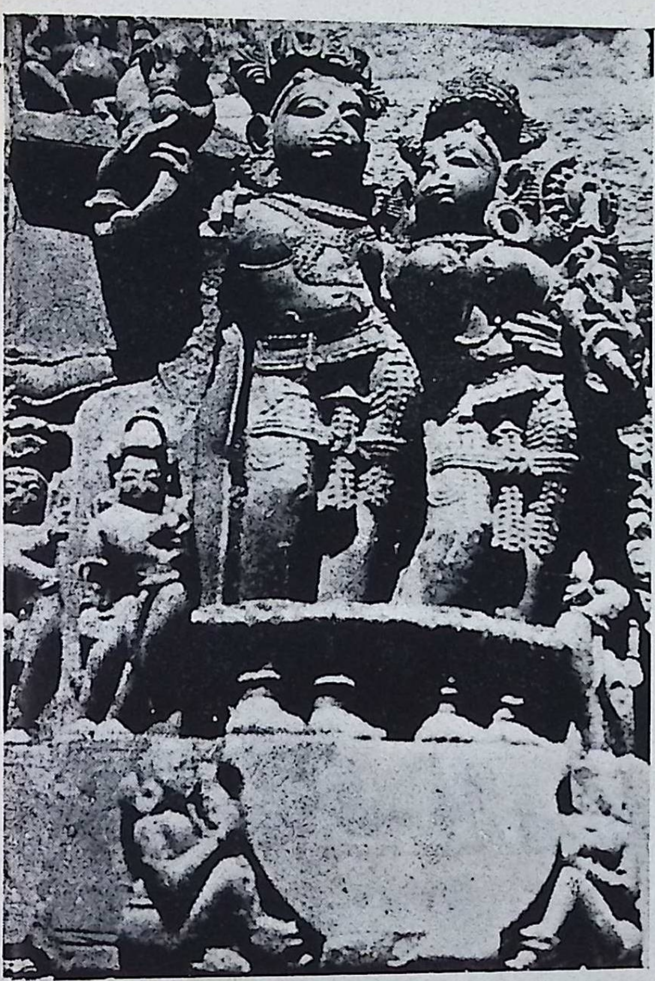


Fig. 49. Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Katarmal, Distritc Almora, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

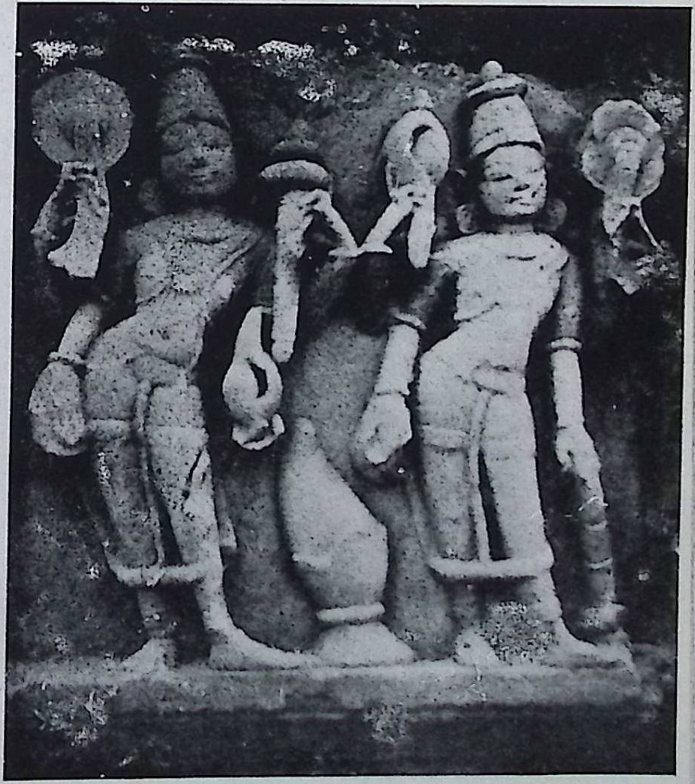


Fig. 50. Chaturviṁśati form (?) of Vishṇu, Chandapur, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 11th century A.D.

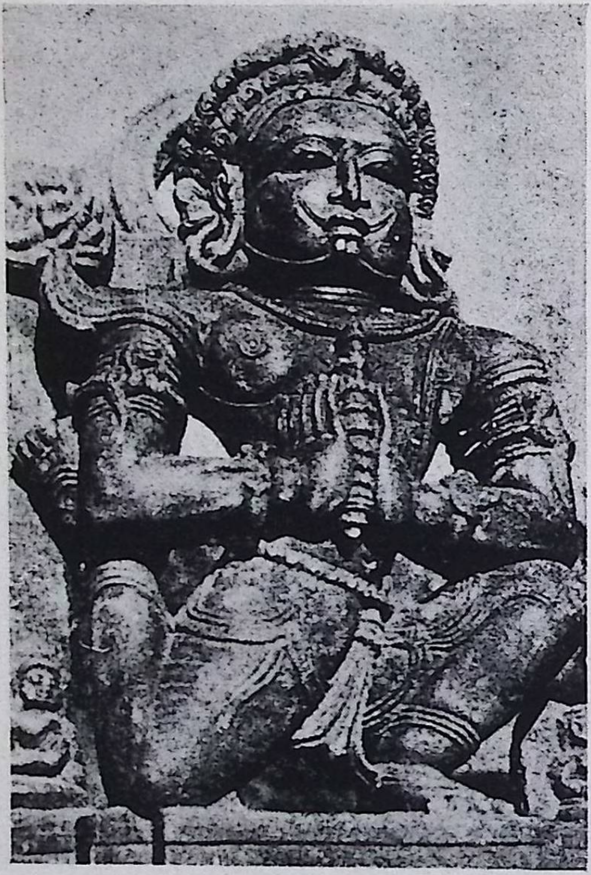


Fig. 51. Garuḍa, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

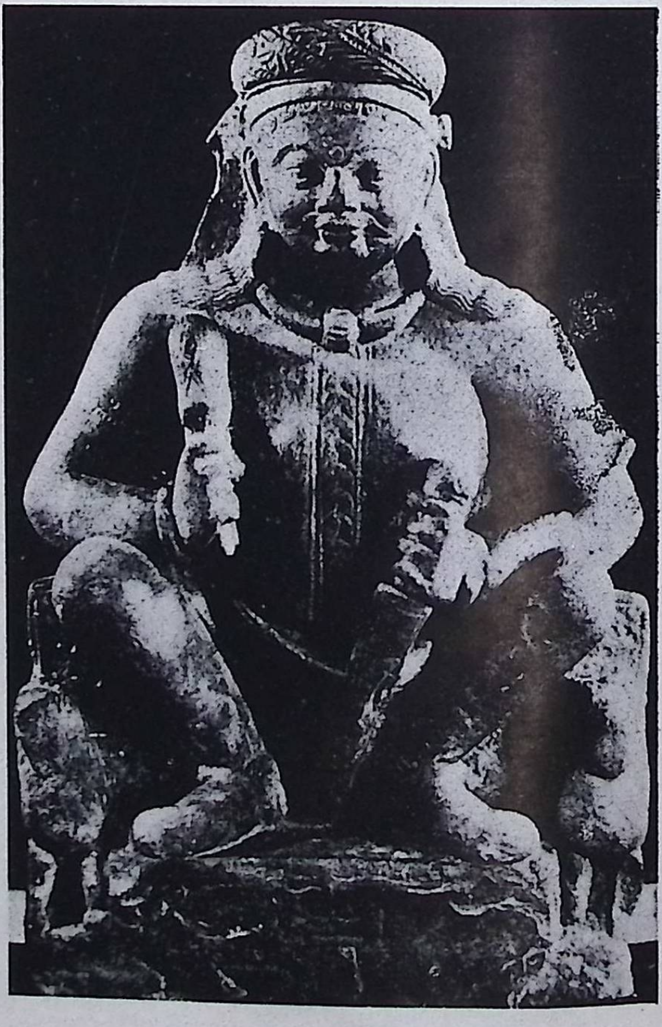


Fig. 52. Sūrya, Mathura Museum, Mathura, (U.P.), c. 2nd, 3rd century A.D.

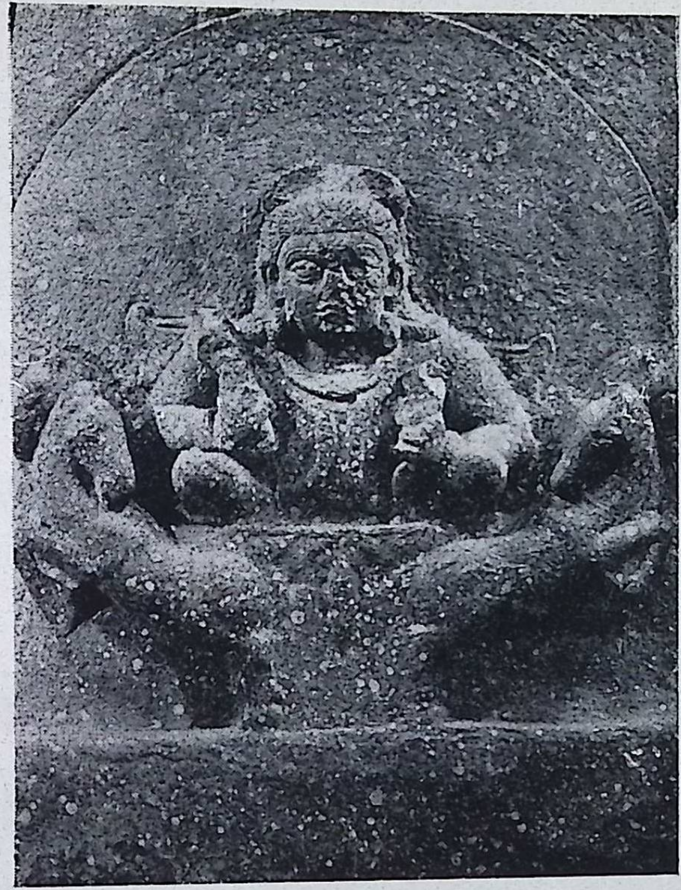


Fig. 53. Sūrya, Mathura Museum, Mathura, (U.P.), c. 1st, 2nd century A.D.

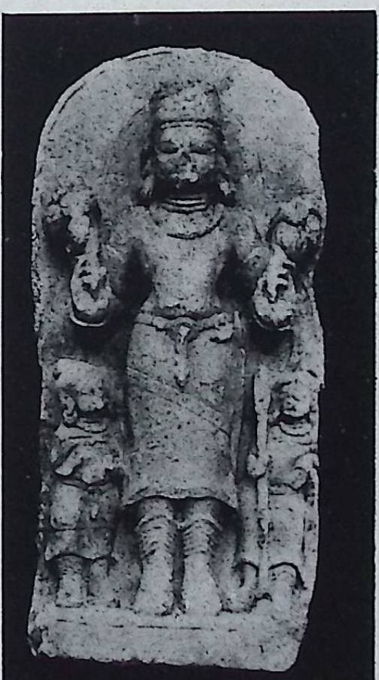


Fig. 54. Sūrya, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 7th century A.D.

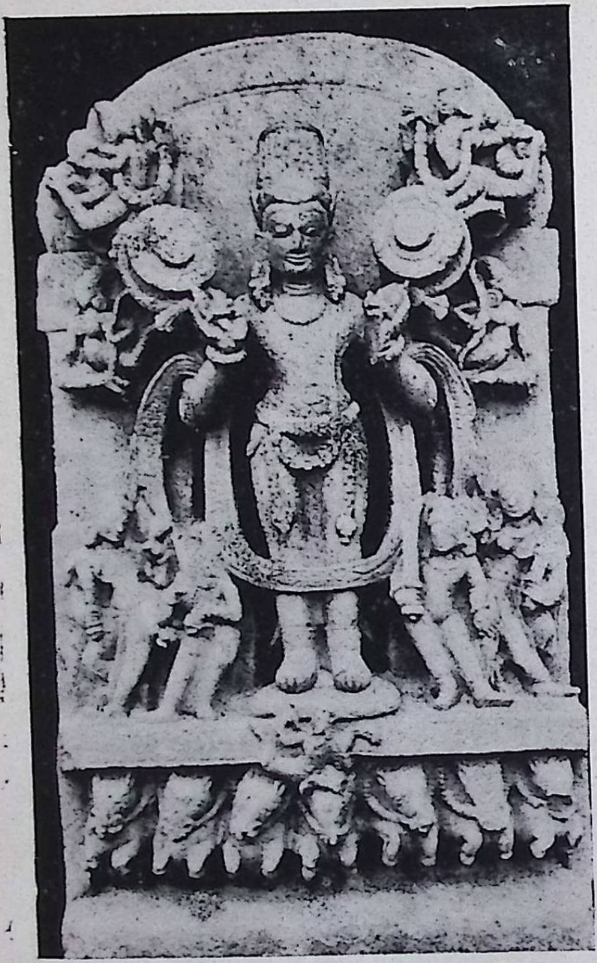


Fig. 55. Sūrya, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.

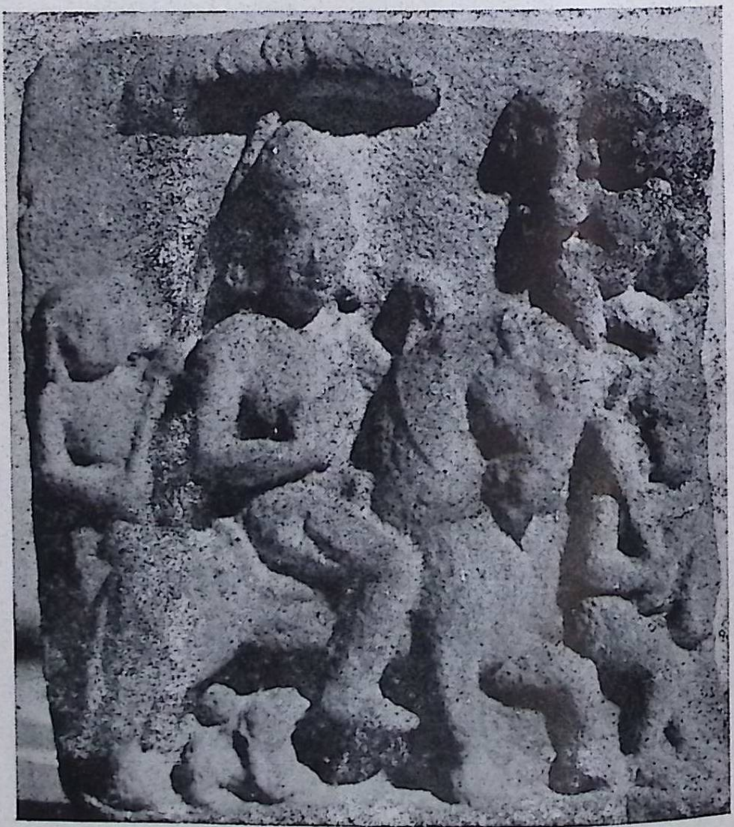


Fig. 56. Revanta, National Museum, Delhi, c. 9th century A.D.

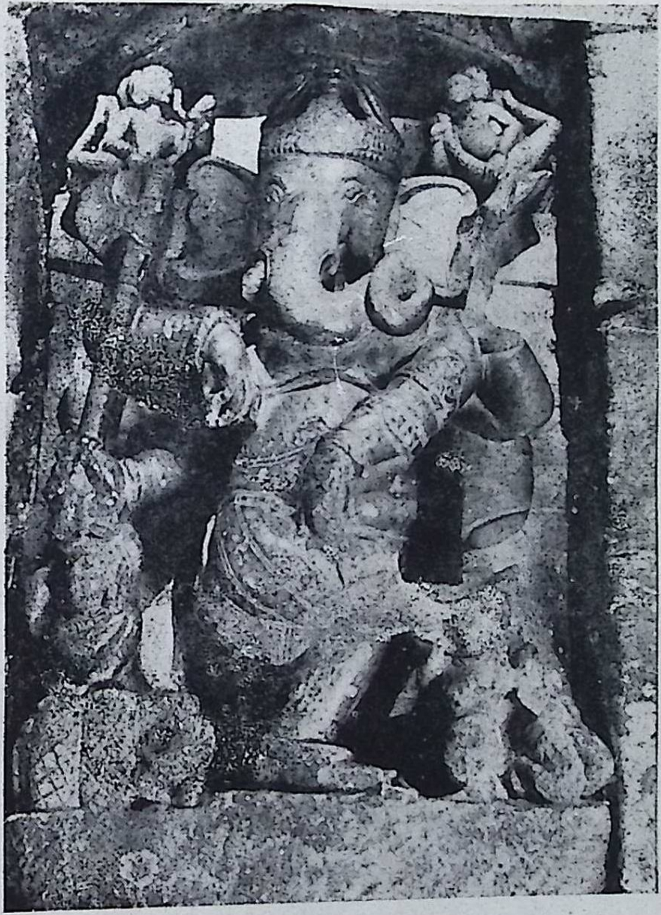


Fig. 57. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati, Jageshwar, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 9th, 10th century A.D.

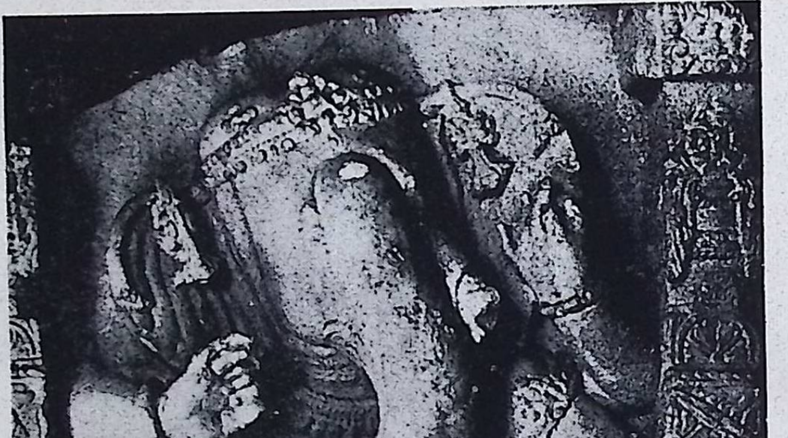


Fig. 58. Nṛitta-Gaṇapati, Kanauj, District Farrukhabad, (U.P.), c. 9th, 10th century A.D.

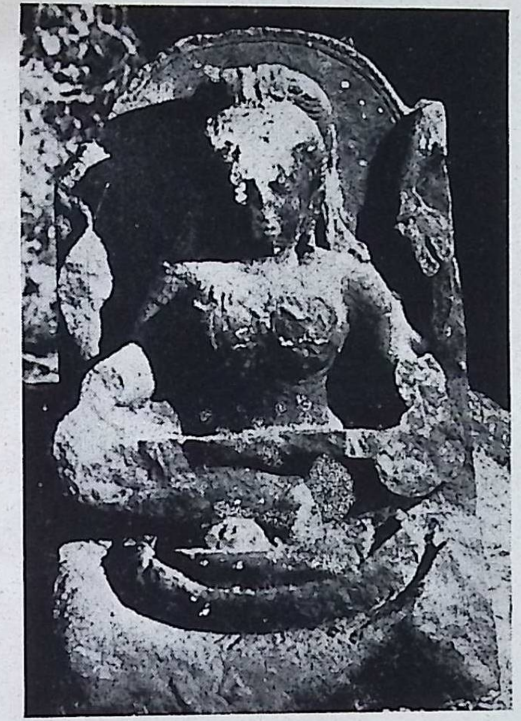


Fig. 59. Pārvatī in penance, Gopeshwar, District Chamoli, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

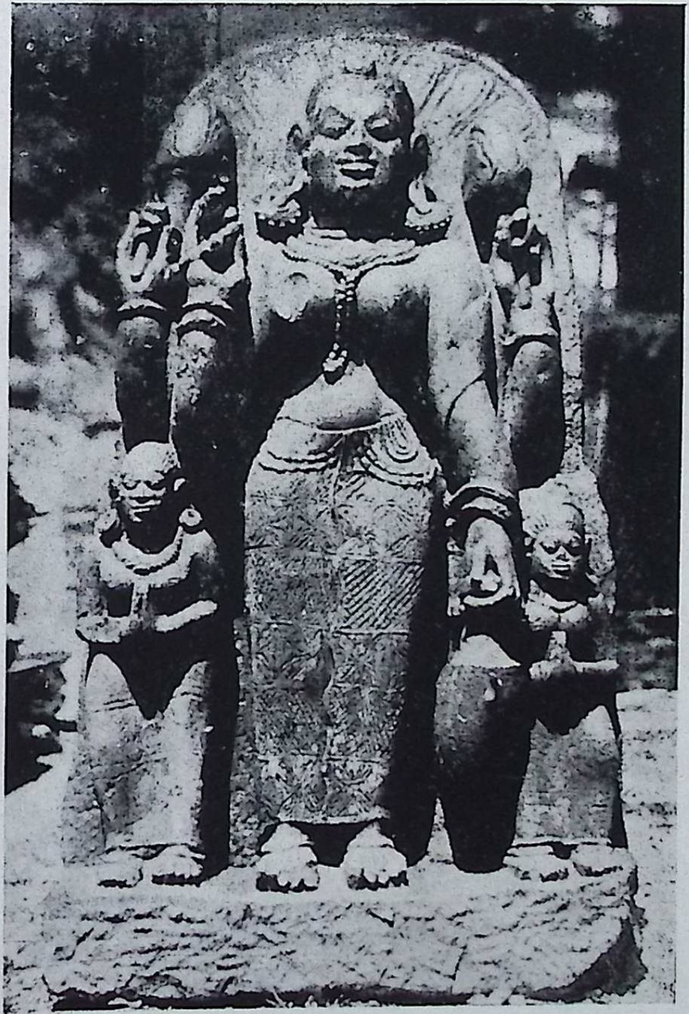


Fig. 60. Pārvatī, Jageshwar, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.

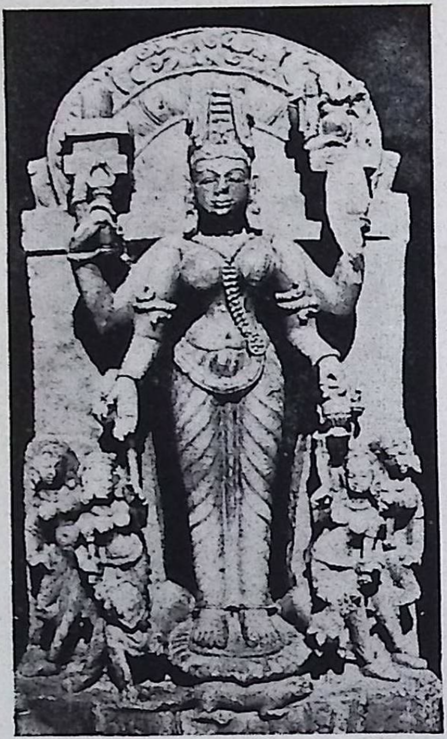
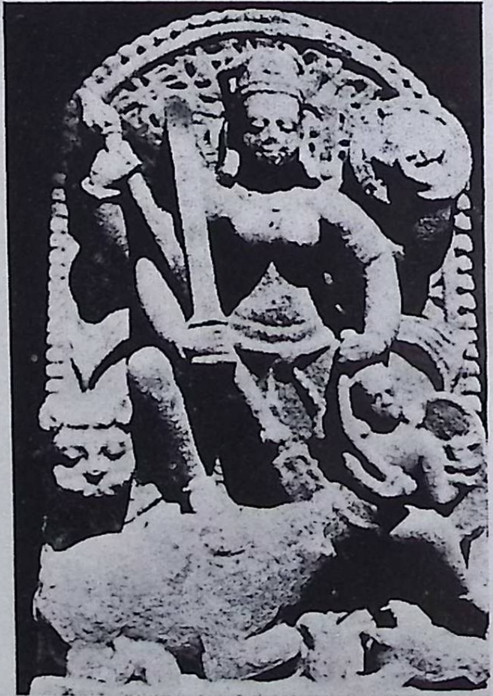


Fig. 61. Pārvati on a Godha, Jageshwar, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.

Fig. 62. Kātyāyanī, Lakhamandal, District Dehra Dun, (U.P.), c. 7th, 8th century A.D.



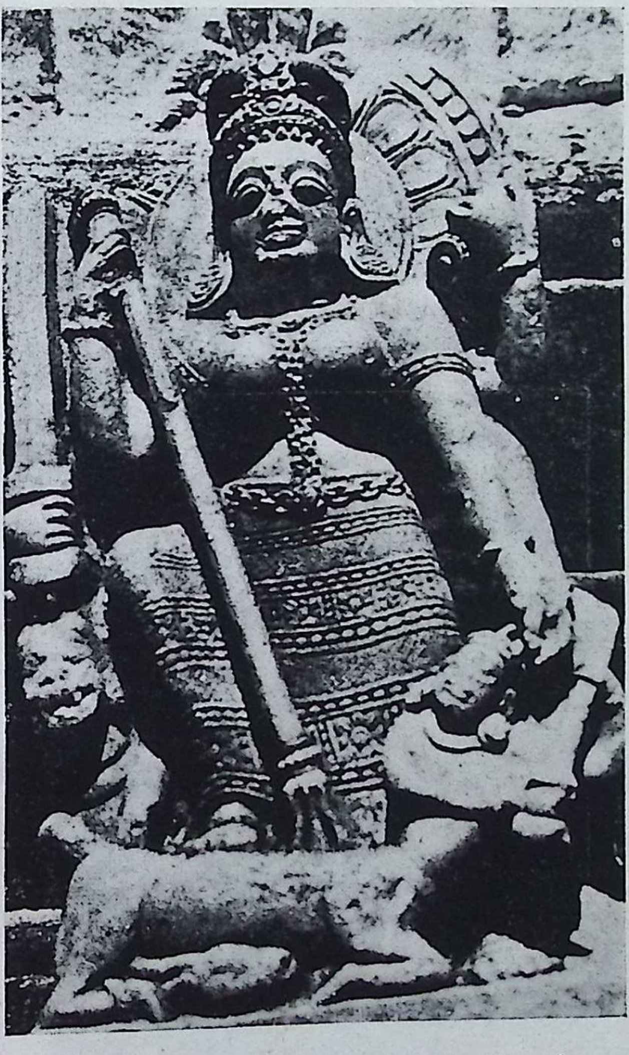


Fig. 63. Kātyāyani, Katarmal, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

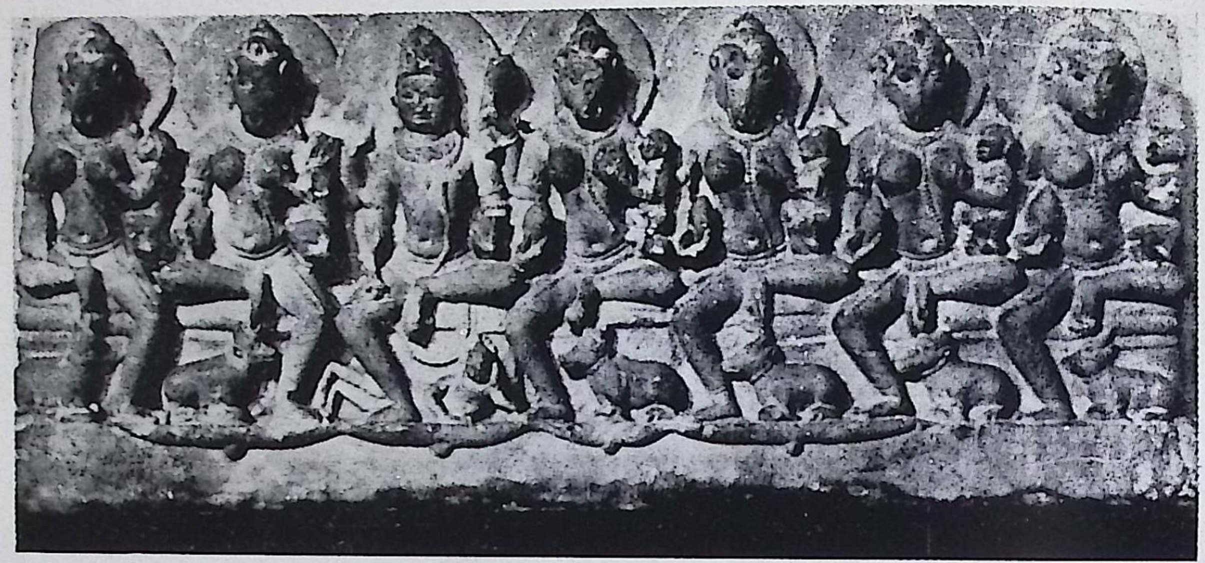


Fig. 64. Sapta Matrikās, State Museum, Lucknow, (U.P.), c. 10th century A.D.

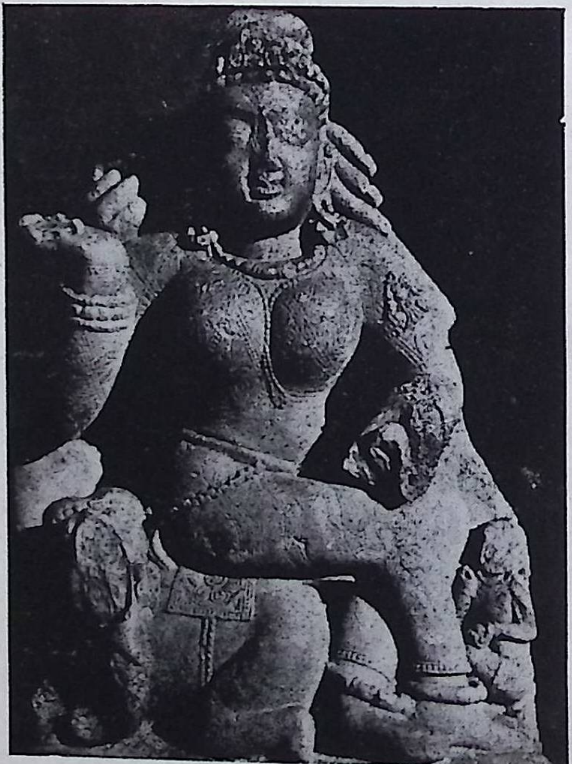


Fig. 65. Indrāṇi, Baijnath, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.L.

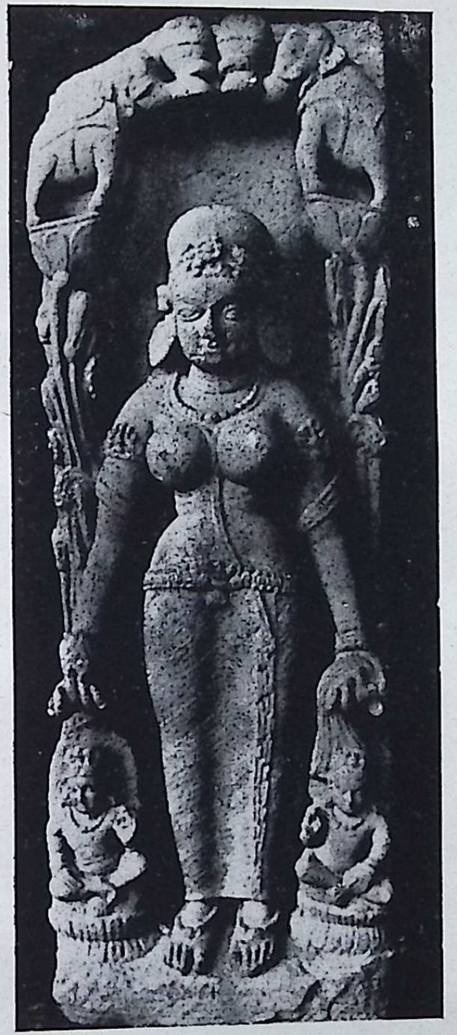


Fig. 66. Gaja-Lakshmī, Bhitari, District Ghazipur, now in the State Museum, Lucknow, (U.P.), c. 6th century A.D.

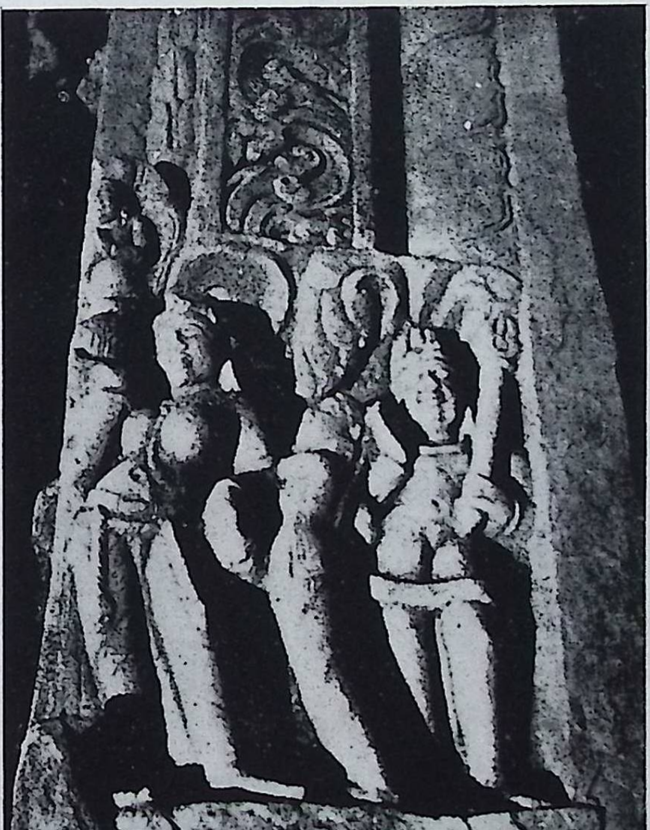


Fig. 67. Gaṅgā on door-jamb, Burhagaon, District Jhansi, (U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.

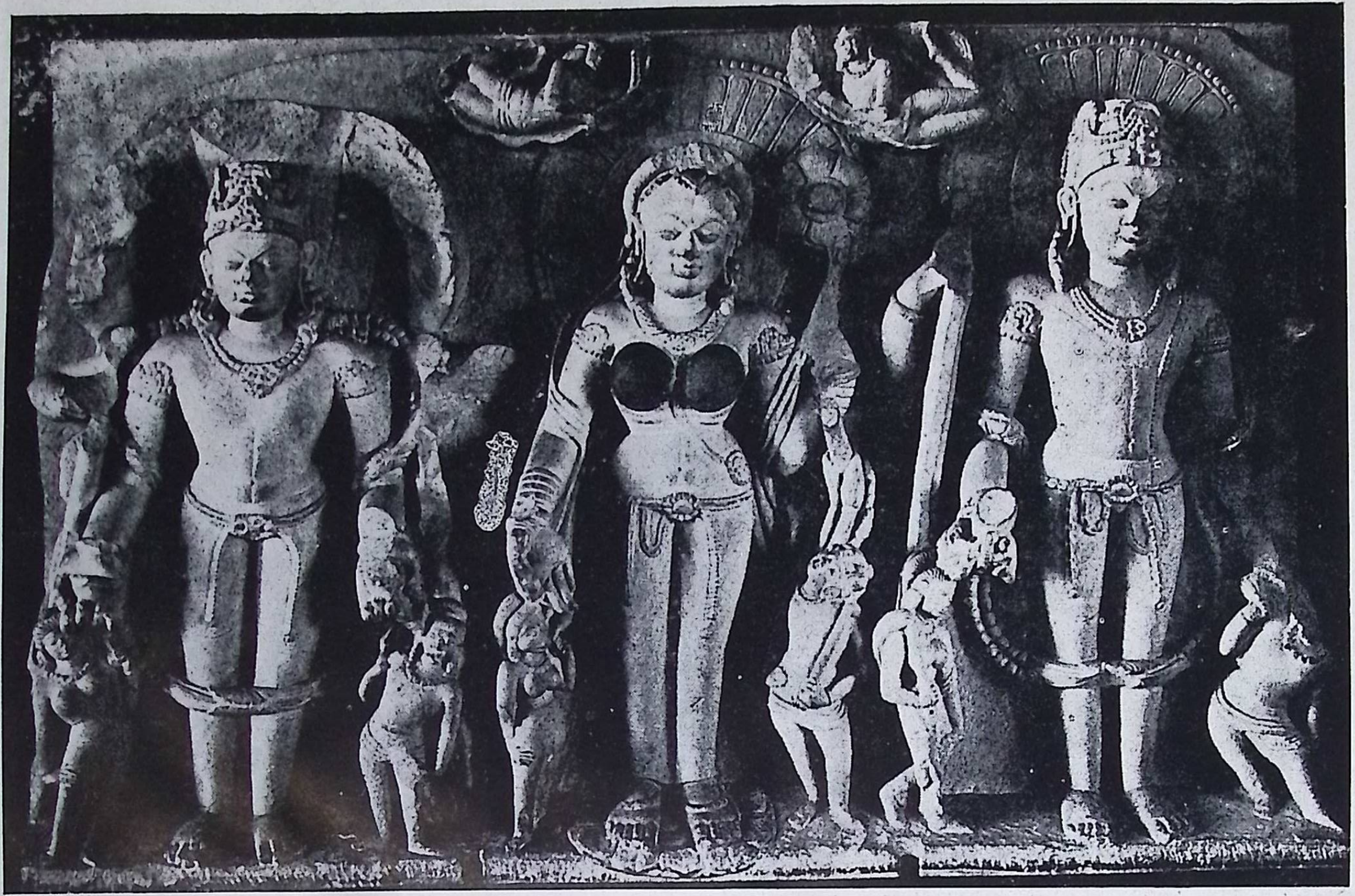


Fig. 68. *Ekānāṅśā with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, State Museum, Lucknow, (U.P.), c. 9th, 10th century A.D.*

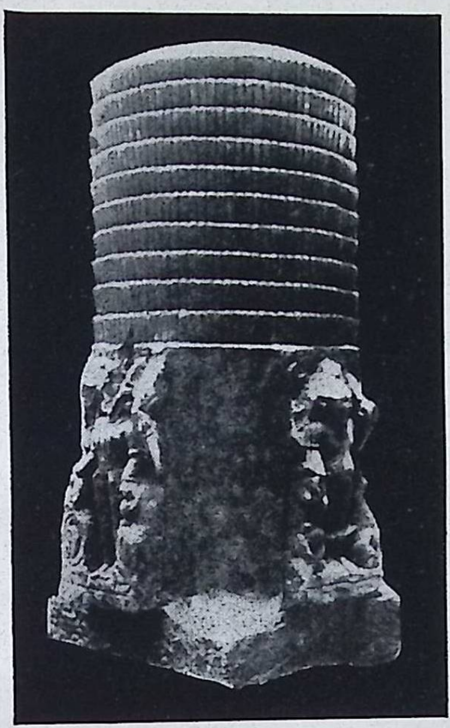
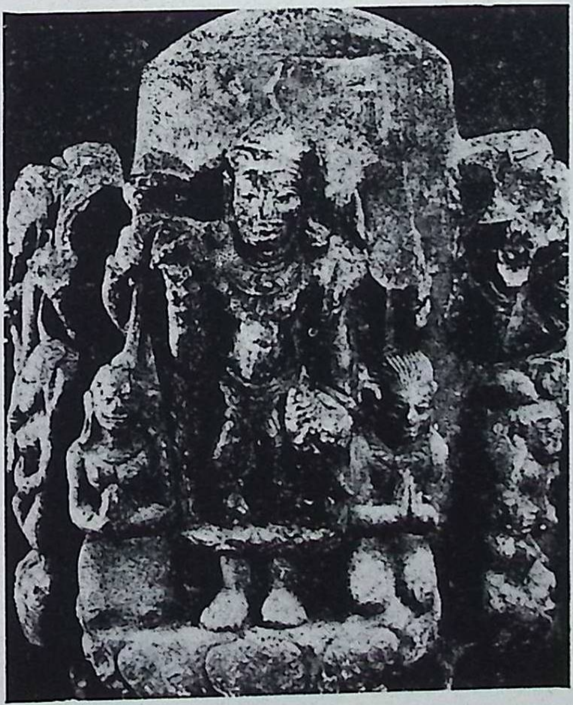


Fig. 69. Sahasra-Liṅga with composite deities, Chandapur, District Jhansi, (U P.), c. 10th century A.D.

Fig. 70. Śiva-Liṅga with composite deities, Jageshwar, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 10th, 11th century A.D.



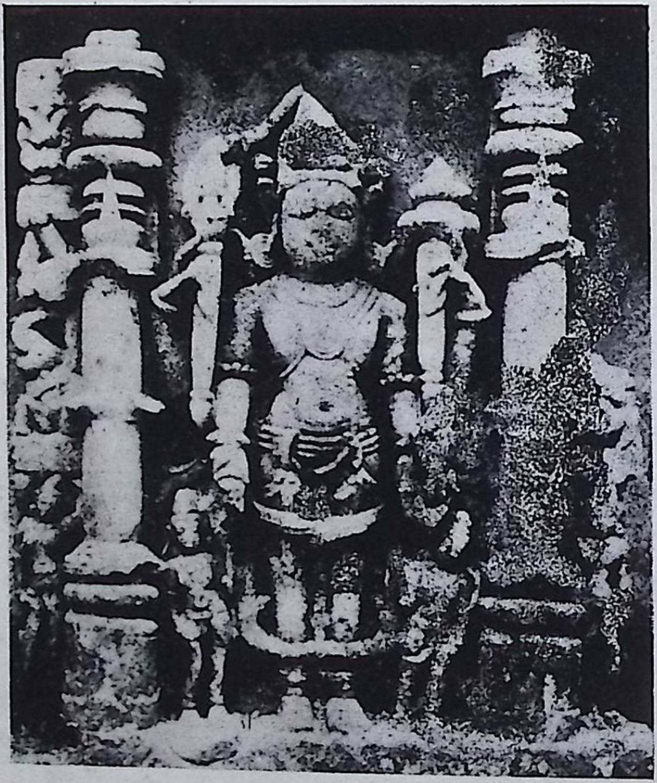


Fig. 71. Hari-Hara mūrti, Chandapur, District Jhansi (U.P.), c. 12th, 13th century A.D.

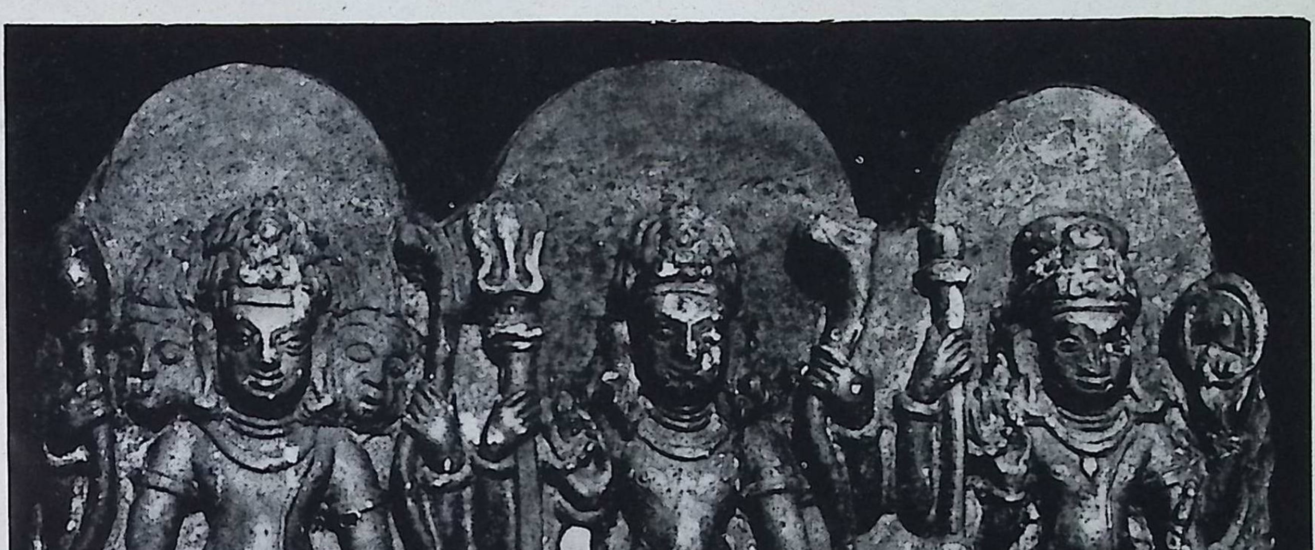


Fig. 72. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, Jageshwar, District Almora, (U.P.), c. 11th century A.D.